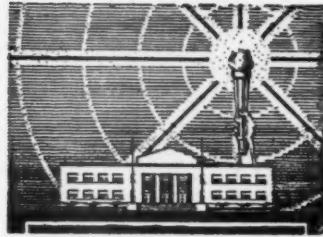


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The Social Studies

VOLUME XLV, NUMBER 2

FEBRUARY, 1954

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As the Editor Sees It

The public school curriculum, especially at the secondary level, has been a battle-ground of controversy for some years. Recently it has been highlighted by several books written for the public rather than the profession, attacking schools of education as monopolies which control school curricula to the detriment of true education. An extremely heated exchange of views on the subject recently appeared in the *Bulletin of the National Association of Secondary School Principals* between Dr. Arthur E. Bestor of the History Department of the University of Illinois and several of his colleagues from the School of Education of the same institution.

The basic positions in the curriculum controversy boil down to these claims:

The academicians assert that the schools of education control the training and certification of teachers and administrators, who in turn determine the curriculum of the schools; and that they have used this power to introduce into the schools a type of pseudo-education to the neglect of the true disciplines of the sciences and humanities, and of the development of the powers of logical reasoning.

The educationists claim that society is demanding secondary education for all youth, and that this requirement has brought into the high school a vast number of children uninterested in or incapable of profiting from academic disciplines; and that the democratic function of the schools must be to train these youth to live useful, socially-adaptable and virtuous lives.

There is of course merit in both positions, for the field of education can show many examples of extremes which bolster the arguments of either side. What makes the controversy so difficult to resolve is the fact that its chief protagonists are usually remote from the arena. They are college professors,—the ivory

tower academicians or the school of education methodologists, according to the point of view—and few of them have any recent personal experience of high school teaching and its responsibilities and bewildering perplexities. The professional scientist or historian sees no merit in a curriculum which does not require all pupils to be thoroughly trained in those disciplines. The professor of education believes that youth should be taught primarily to get along with others and so demands a curriculum of "life-adjustment," vocational and social science courses. Neither appears to give more than lip service to the merits of the opposing arguments, or to the practical problems of the schools—and nowhere does the public's opinion on the controversy seem to be considered.

We feel this is a significant oversight. The schools produce the public, the public in turn provides the schools, in a cycle of succeeding generations. Surely the problem of curriculum should be brought out of the musty halls and library stacks of the university and teachers' college and taken into the community among the citizens themselves. We would highly commend any school board that would have the courage to invite a committee to study its curriculum and make recommendations—the committee to include representatives from the school faculty and administration, the student body, the lay citizens of the community, the state department of education, the academic faculty of a good university, and the faculty of a school of education or teachers' college. We suspect that the meetings of such a committee would be brisk, enlightening and quite possibly beneficial to the school system. They might also, if properly publicized by a good recorder, help to clear away some of the barriers to understanding which now exist in the world of education.

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FEBRUARY, 1954

A Legal Analysis of Segregation in Public Education

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The matter of segregation in public education is, of course, a problem of much wider concern than the strictly legal. It does appear, however, that its legal aspects are central to its intelligent discussion, and that a full knowledge of court cases involving the issues of segregation in public education would be highly useful to teachers and laymen alike.

We believe that there is no other source readily available to teachers wherein a complete history of court actions on this issue can be found, or, at least, none as brief and shorn of extraneous materials. To our knowledge, every significant recent case involving segregation and decided by the courts, state or federal, is summarized in this article. Explanations and evaluations, due largely to lack of space, are kept to a minimum.

I. SEGREGATION IN HIGHER EDUCATION

One of the more difficult problems confronting the courts of this country today is that of the persistent attitude of many states toward a policy of segregation of minority groups in public schools, and this in spite of the Fourteenth Amendment, which provides:

No state shall make or enforce any law which shall abridge the privileges or immunities of citizens of the United States; nor shall any state deprive any person of life, liberty, or property without due process of law; nor deny to any person within its jurisdiction equal protection of the laws.¹

This language appears to be unequivocal in

requiring that a state pursue a policy of equality of treatment toward all individuals living in the state. It would not be at all unreasonable for one to conclude that because of the prohibitions expressed in the Fourteenth Amendment, a state is precluded from segregation based on race, color, or creed. However, the Supreme Court of the United States has not thus far seen fit to take this view. The interpretation which the Supreme Court has given to the "equal protection of the laws" clause of the Fourteenth Amendment is, as will be seen, that segregation of students *per se* in state operated schools is not a violation of the clause.

The Supreme Court of the United States first dealt with the problem of segregation in the public schools in the case of *Hall v. DeCuir*.² Actually, the holding of the case dealt with segregation on a public carrier, but by way of dictum, the court propounded the rule that segregation in public schools does not violate the Fourteenth Amendment if equal facilities are provided. This was the first case to enunciate the famous "separate but equal" doctrine—to be discussed in detail in the pages which follow. In an early case³ actually involving segregation in public schools, a federal court held in accord with the dictum in the *Hall* case, but the case generally cited as having established the "separate but equal" doctrine is the case of *Plessy v. Ferguson*.⁴ This case was also primarily concerned with segregation on

a public carrier and with a determination of the constitutionality of the "Jim Crow" laws which made it unlawful for any common carrier to transport white and colored people in the same vehicle or the same portion thereof. The Supreme Court held that such a law passed by a state legislature is constitutional under the national Constitution as long as the law does not establish unequal facilities for the Negro. Then, in the classic dictum which still haunts (and perhaps hinders) the Supreme Court to this day, Mr. Justice Harlan, speaking in behalf of the majority, made the following statement pertaining to segregation of students in public schools:

The object of the Fourteenth Amendment was undoubtedly to enforce the absolute equality of the two races before the law, but in the nature of things, it could not have been intended to abolish distinctions based on color, or to enforce social, as distinguished from political, equality, or a commingling of the two races upon terms unsatisfactory to either. Laws permitting, and even requiring their separation in places where they are liable to be brought into contact do not necessarily imply the inferiority of either race to the other, and have been generally, if not universally, recognized as within the competency of the state legislatures in the exercise of their police power. The most common instance of this is connected with the establishment of separate schools for white and colored children which have been held to be a valid exercise of the legislative power even by the courts of the states where the political rights of the colored people have been longest and most earnestly enforced.

This dictum has been followed by many courts in many subsequent cases, and the courts to this day still pay lip service to it. The "equal but separate" doctrine had lost none of its force by 1927, for in that year, the Supreme Court based a decision⁵ squarely on the dictum in the *Plessy* case. In the *Gong lum* case, the plaintiff brought suit on behalf of his daughter in an attempt to compel a school board of trustees to permit his daughter to attend a school for white children. The plaintiff argued, to no avail, that forcing a full blooded

Chinese girl to attend a school for Negro children was an act in direct contravention of the Fourteenth Amendment. The Supreme Court held that the Mississippi Supreme Court was not in error in upholding the exclusion of the plaintiff's daughter from a school for white children. The basis of the high court's decision was that the plaintiff's daughter was provided facilities equal to those afforded white children despite the fact that she had to go to a school for colored children. The rationale of the decision is subject to question, for it seems highly unlikely that the Chinese girl in this case actually was provided equal facilities.

The most significant litigation pertaining to the "equal but separate" doctrine has occurred in cases questioning the validity of the doctrine and its enforcement in state-supported schools of higher education. The first in this series of cases came before the Supreme Court of the United States in 1938.⁶ The high court of the land in this case held that a state does not discharge its obligation to provide equal facilities by paying for a Negro's education in a law school outside the state. Chief Justice Hughes, in his majority opinion, said:

... the Negro resident having the same qualifications is refused it there and must go outside the state to obtain it. That is a denial of the equality of legal right to the enjoyment of the privileges which the state has set up, and the provision for the payment of tuition fees in another state does not remove the discrimination.

Even though the court rendered a decision in favor of the plaintiff, still the case did nothing in the way of modifying the "equal but separate" doctrine.

A later case⁷ arising in Missouri simply reiterated the dictum of the *Plessy* case and the holding in the *Gaines* case. The *Gaines* case was followed ten years later by the Supreme Court's decision in a case⁸ arising in Oklahoma. In this case, a young Negro woman sought admission to the University of Oklahoma Law school. The court, in keeping with the "equal but separate" doctrine, held that the state of Oklahoma was obligated to set up a segregated law school for qualified Negro applicants. The court also held that the state of Oklahoma must be allowed a reasonable

time in which to establish a separate law school—thus making it necessary for the petitioner to wait for some time before she would be afforded the opportunity for a legal education. In a later hearing,⁹ a motion by the plaintiff for a writ of mandamus to compel the state of Oklahoma to adhere to the decree of the Supreme Court was denied. In denying the motion, the majority of the court thought that the order of the Oklahoma court was in accord with the prior mandate of the Supreme Court,¹⁰ and that mandamus could not issue until the adequacy of state action had been passed upon by the courts of Oklahoma. The late Mr. Justice Wiley B. Rutledge dissented vigorously to the denial of the motion for mandamus, the pertinent terms of the dissent being as follows:

Obviously no separate law school could be established elsewhere overnight capable of giving petitioner a legal education equal to that afforded by the state's long-established and well-known state university law school. Nor could the necessary time be taken to create such facilities, while continuing to deny them to the petitioner, without incurring the delay which would continue the discrimination our mandate required to end at once.

His dissent was well founded in logic, and ultimately was to form the basis for a modification of the "separate but equal" doctrine. Not until two years later, in 1950, did the Supreme Court really begin to delve into and weigh the equality of treatment afforded to peoples of minority groups. As will be seen in the discussion dealing with segregation in elementary and secondary schools, *infra*, some of the lower federal courts probed into the existence of equal facilities some time before the Supreme Court so concerned itself.

In June, 1950, the Supreme Court decided two cases¹¹ which most certainly have had the effect of at least partially obliterating the doctrine of the *Plessy* case. *Sweatt v. Painter* dealt with the refusal of the University of Texas to admit a Negro to its law school. The state of Texas had made an attempt to provide equal facilities. A law school, the "School of Law of the Texas State University for Negroes," was established as a branch of

Prairie View State University located at Houston.¹² The law school was housed in a \$2,000,000 building, had a faculty of five full time professors, a library of 16,500 volumes, and was at the time of the decision apparently on the way to full accreditation. From the standpoint of physical facilities, it appeared that the Negro law school was at least equal to that of the University of Texas, and yet the Supreme Court held that the petitioner had been denied equal protection of the laws.

The Supreme Court was of the opinion that the law school at the University of Texas was superior in every way. The court felt that the law school for white students was superior because of the more excellent reputation of the faculty, the experience of the school's administrators, the influence of the alumni, and the tradition and prestige of the school. The court went on to point out that few students, and no one who has practiced law, would choose to study in an academic vacuum, removed from the interplay of ideas and the exchange of views with which the law is concerned. Therefore, the basis of this holding seems to be that the quality of legal education to be had at the law school for Negroes was inferior because of a deprivation of association with a vast majority of the students studying law in the state. The court intimated that because the plaintiff had been denied the right to associate with law students of the white race, the state of Texas had failed to provide equality of treatment required by the holding in the *Plessy* case. The *Sweatt* case certainly reflects a more critical analysis of the equality of facilities afforded Negroes and members of other minority groups than had been made by the Supreme Court in prior cases. The spirit of Mr. Justice Rutledge's dissent in the *Sipuel* case¹³ became the letter of the law by virtue of this decision. It is significant to note, however, that the court took great care not to overrule the dictum of the *Plessy* case to the effect that segregation is unconstitutional only when some racial group is consigned facilities which are unequal to those afforded other groups. *Stare decisis* seemingly reigns supreme.

In the Oklahoma case¹⁴ decided the same day as the *Sweatt* case, the Supreme Court held that G. W. McLaurin, a Negro who had been

admitted to the University of Oklahoma graduate school, was entitled to the same treatment as white students. It appeared that McLaurin was compelled to sit in a designated seat in the classrooms which was apart from the rest of the seats, that he was assigned to a designated table in the library, and that he had to eat at a specified table at a designated time, the purpose being in each instance to segregate him as far as possible from the rest of the students. The Supreme Court, in deciding that the Board of Regents of the University of Oklahoma had violated the petitioner's rights to equal protection of the laws, came perhaps the nearest that it has ever come to a holding that segregation *per se* is unconstitutional. Chief Justice Vinson in writing for the majority said:

... such restrictions impair and inhibit his ability to study, to engage in discussions and exchange views with other students, and, in general, to learn his profession . . . Those who will come under his guidance and influence must be directly affected by the education he receives. Their own education and development will necessarily suffer to the extent that his training is unequal to that of his classmates. State-imposed restrictions which produce such results cannot be sustained . . .

The opinion leaves one with the idea that any segregation after admission to a particular school is a violation of the entrant's right to equal protection of the laws, but the Supreme Court still has not made a direct holding on this point. Obviously, however, both the *McLaurin* case and the *Sweatt* case are significant, for they show that more and more, the court is looking at segregation in public education with a jaundiced eye. Both cases are significant, also, because they bear out what could prove in the near future to be a severe limitation on the equal separate facilities practice in education. When the Supreme Court determined that the state of Texas did not afford the petitioner equal facilities in the law school it had established for Negroes, it virtually foreclosed the feasibility of any state's attempting to establish equal facilities in graduate or professional training.

Despite the decision in the *Sweatt* case, how-

ever, a Federal District Court sitting in North Carolina held in a case¹⁵ decided after the *Sweatt* case that several Negroes otherwise qualified for admission to the University of North Carolina Law School could be excluded from that school since equal facilities had been provided by the state at the law school for Negroes at North Carolina College. This case certainly seems to be in contradiction to the holding in the *Sweatt* case. The court in the *Epps* case said that there was no evidence showing that a Negro lawyer attending the Negro law school would have any less standing in court than an attorney trained at the University Law School. The case obviously overlooks certain realities pointed up by the *Sweatt* case, that is, that the legal profession is one that places great emphasis on tradition and precedent and that a legal education in a segregated law school, by its very nature, cannot satisfy the equality of treatment required by the Fourteenth Amendment.

It is interesting to speculate how the Supreme Court would decide in the *Epps* case if it were to be appealed. We feel that the language of the *Sweatt* case leaves very little doubt but that the Supreme Court would grant a reversal on the theory that there can be no real equality in the study of law where segregation exists. The best indication as to how the Supreme Court would decide an appeal of the *Epps* case is a recent case¹⁶ which arose when the management of a public golf course adopted a rule restricting to one day a week the use of the course by Negro players. In a *per curiam* decision, the Supreme Court vacated the judgment below for the defendants and remanded the case for reconsideration in the light of the *Sweatt* and *McLaurin* cases. This fate would undoubtedly befall the *Epps* case if it were to be appealed, but to the date of this writing, no appeal has been prosecuted by Mr. Epps, so the matter is, of necessity, only of academic interest.

Clearly, the decisions recently handed down by the Supreme Court indicate that the day may not be too far away when, at least, segregation *per se* in state-supported schools of higher learning will be found unconstitutional. There exists today growing sentiment in opposition to segregation in all schools, elementary

and graduate schools alike. For instance, in 1947, the President's Committee on Civil Rights stated that segregation is an obstacle to the establishment of harmonious relationships among groups and that it is now generally recognized that the effect of racial classification is to brand the Negro as inferior.¹⁷ The recent unanimity of the Supreme Court in insisting upon educational opportunities which are, in fact, equal is encouraging. As indicated by the cases dealing with segregation in higher education, perhaps some day soon, the court will ignore its almost sacred policy of taking meticulous care in the preservation of time-honored but outmoded rules of law and will denounce the "equal but separate" doctrine established by the *Plessy* case.

II. SEGREGATION IN ELEMENTARY AND SECONDARY SCHOOLS

So far, not much has been said about the still common practice of segregating minority groups in elementary and secondary schools. Most, if not all, of the southern states have statutory or constitutional provisions similar to those on the books in Texas today.¹⁸ These laws provide in effect that the general assembly shall provide for a general and uniform system of public schools, and that the children of the white race and of the colored race shall be taught in separate public schools without discrimination.

To this date, the Supreme Court has said nothing about segregation in elementary schools except, of course, that facilities provided the children must be equal. The *Sweatt* and *McLaurin* decisions dealt only with segregation on the graduate or professional level, and thus render no direct help in guessing what the Supreme Court may decide on the question of segregation in elementary and secondary schools. Cases from five different jurisdictions are now pending before the Supreme Court, the issue in each one being whether segregation is constitutional. Decisions on these cases, which originated in Kansas,¹⁹ Delaware,²⁰ South Carolina,²¹ Virginia,²² and the District of Columbia,²³ should be handed down by the high tribunal in the near future. In the interim period, we can only delve into the realm of sheer conjecture as to how the court will hold.

Different lower federal courts have rendered decisions pertinent to the problem of segregation in elementary education, but no court in this country has ever gone so far as to say that it is impossible to create equal facilities. Looking at the maintenance of separate facilities realistically, it might be asked whether separate facilities for whites and Negroes ever can be equal. There are those who argue that under no circumstance can segregated education provide the minority group with an education equal to that obtained by the majority children. The President's Committee on Civil Rights expressed it this way.²⁴

... In any event, we believe that not even the most mathematically precise equality of segregated institutions can properly be considered equality under the law. No argument or rationalization can alter the basic fact. A law which forbids a group of American citizens to associate with other citizens in the ordinary course of daily living creates inequality by imposing a caste status on the minority group.

A bitter dissent by Chief Justice Corning in a recent case²⁵ shows a similar attitude. He argues that the criteria applied by the Supreme Court in the *Sweatt* and *McLaurin* cases should be applicable to state-supported schools on all levels. He seems to say that the freedom to associate and to exchange views is as important an element in the education of a child in elementary school as it is in the education of a law student. Chief Justice Corning has it thus:

The education required for living in a cosmopolitan community and especially for living in a humane and democratic country and promoting its ideals cannot be obtained on either side of a fence that separates a more privileged majority and a less privileged minority.

Despite this vigorous dissent, the federal district court sitting in the District of Columbia held that segregation in public school in the District of Columbia is not a violation of the Federal Constitution as long as equal facilities are provided. The decision in the *Carr* case is based on the premise that the "equal but separate" doctrine is valid because the Supreme Court has said so. However, merely because the Supreme Court decrees that the "equal but

separate" test is valid does not necessarily make it valid. The real problem is whether the "equal but separate" theory is a valid construction of the equal protection of the laws clause of the Fourteenth Amendment.

To determine whether the doctrine of "equal but separate facilities" is valid or not, it is necessary to approach the problem as did Judge Edgerton in his dissent in the case of *Epps v. Carmichael*²⁶ discussed above. Judge Edgerton takes the unassailable view that the equality guaranteed by the Constitution is *individual equality*. This position was certainly held in the recent case of *Shelley v. Kraemer*,²⁷ in which the Supreme Court held that the racial restrictive covenants contained in deeds to real property could not be enforced by way of injunction in State Courts. If, in fact, the guarantees of the Fourteenth Amendment were intended to afford individual equality, the rationale of the "equal but separate" doctrine can be subjected to some criticism. If individual equality is what every citizen of every state is entitled to, then how is it to be determined whether the state has denied any given citizen this equality? More specifically, to tie up this question with the problem of segregation in public schools, how is it to be determined whether or not a state has denied a small Negro child individual equality? The courts of this country, as agencies of social control, have taken it upon themselves by the adoption of the "equal but separate" doctrine to determine whether a child is afforded equality of educational opportunity. To go a step further, however, can a court, any court, really determine whether equal educational facilities have been given to children of segregated races? Our argument is that they cannot, and therefore, at best, the "equal but separate" doctrine is a very poor medium for the enforcement of constitutional rights.

A few of the problems arising in conjunction with the separate facilities theory show rather adequately the difficulty (and we would argue, the impossibility) of a truly equitable disposition of segregation cases by use of the doctrine. For instance, is a Negro child in any given small town in Georgia entitled to the same school facilities as the white child who attends a new modern school located in a

luxurious residential district of Atlanta? Assume that in every state, schools in each respective state are of different quality. Is the Negro attending a segregated school, for the purposes of determining whether or not he has been afforded individual equality, to be compared to children in the best school for white children in the state or the worst school for white children in the state, or an average somewhere in between these two? If the Negro child is, in fact, entitled to facilities equal to those afforded white children in the best school in the state, would it not be a denial of equal protection of the laws for the state to continue to send white children to schools inferior to those established for the minority race? It can be argued that Negroes who attend segregated schools where the student-faculty ratio is low are actually receiving better facilities than are white children attending a school where the student-faculty ratio is quite high and the opportunity for personal attention is not as great. Could not white children argue that they are denied equal protection of the laws because of the failure by the state to provide facilities equal to those provided Negro children?

As can be seen, many problems arise in connection with the application of the "equal but separate" doctrine which, to us, make it a realistically untenable rule of law. On the other hand, it can be argued that it may have been, and may still be one solution to class conflict existing still today in so many states in this country.

An examination of cases dealing with segregation in public education (specifically, cases dealing with segregation in elementary and secondary schools), is necessary in order to make any kind of prediction as to how the courts will view segregation in the future. The case of *Brown et al. v. Board of Education of Topeka*²⁸ was decided for the defendants on the theory that even though the plaintiff was compelled to travel a much greater distance to get to school than were white children living in the same neighborhood, still the plaintiff was not denied the equal facilities which the state is required to give all citizens. The *Brown* case is one of five cases which are currently pending before the Supreme Court of the United States. There is a very good chance that the case will

be reversed on the ground that the plaintiff was not provided with "equal but separate" facilities. As indicated above, it is a matter of sheer conjecture whether the Supreme Court will go a step further and say that segregation *per se* is unconstitutional. The *Brown* case is seemingly in direct conflict with the case of *Corbin et al. v. School Board of Pulaski County, Virginia*.²⁰ In the *Corbin* case, a lower federal court held that Negro children who had to travel a distance of about sixty miles by bus to reach a Negro school were denied equal facilities because of the fact that they were required to travel so much further than were white children living in the same area. On the basis of the *Corbin* case, the Supreme Court is quite likely to reverse the *Brown* case.

The *Corbin* case is one of several reflecting a growing tendency on the part of the courts to make continued neglect of Negro schools impossible. In a later case³⁰ decided by the same court that decided the *Corbin* case, it was decreed that certain curricular deficiencies be corrected and that certain facilities for extra-curricular work be installed. In a case³¹ decided by the Missouri Supreme Court, a Negro high school student not offered a course in aero-mechanics in his high school for colored students was held entitled to admission to the high school for white students.

A most significant case³² was decided in 1947 by a federal district court sitting in California. The court here held that equal protection of the laws pertaining to the public school system in California is *not* provided by furnishing in separate schools the same facilities, text books, and courses of instructions. As can be seen from this holding, the court in the *Mendez* case came very close to taking the position that segregation *per se* is unconstitutional. The court said, in effect, that by depriving Mexican children of the right to attend the schools for white children, the state was guilty of a violation of the equal protection of the laws clause of the Fourteenth Amendment. On appeal,³³ the Circuit Court of Appeals of the Ninth Circuit affirmed the decision of the lower court, and in so doing, managed deftly to dodge the constitutional question by basing the decision on a California statute restricting segregation.³⁴

In summary, the trend as reflected by recent decisions of both the Supreme Court and the lower federal courts is toward more rigid enforcement of the requirement that equal facilities be afforded members of minority groups. Dual systems of schools are expensive if neither can be neglected, and for this reason it seems certain that increasing economic pressure is going to be exerted against maintenance of a system of segregated schools. Whether this increasing economic pressure will outweigh the diametrically opposed social pressure demanding segregated education facilities, no one knows. Conceivably, we may never know the answer to this problem, for the Supreme Court quite possibly could overrule the doctrine of the *Plessy* case and hold that segregation in public schools contravenes the Fourteenth Amendment. As already pointed out above, the Supreme Court has the opportunity at the present time to take this course of action in the disposition of the five cases now before it.

It is quite possible, on the other hand, that the Supreme Court will feel bound to consider the force of entrenched patterns of behavior, hallowed by judicial pronouncements of venerable weight, and will hold that the "equal but separate" doctrine still is the law of the land. We think that the Supreme Court is quite likely to feel that abrupt change in segregation policies might be met by such bitter resistance as to make such a ruling unwise, and thus, the court is likely to hold, in the cases now before it, that segregation in education is not incompatible with the mandates of the Fourteenth Amendment. Obviously, however, the Supreme Court is composed of individuals, and there is, at this time, no way of determining what they will do.

III. FEDERAL JURISDICTION OVER STATE ACTION UNDER THE FOURTEENTH AMENDMENT

Thus far in this discussion, nothing has been said about discriminatory practices by private individuals or institutions. The Fourteenth Amendment to the Constitution provides:³⁵ "... no state shall ... deny any person within its jurisdiction equal protection of the laws." By way of reiteration, it is quite clear that state action denying equal protection of the laws is prohibited. The big problem, obviously,

is determining just exactly what state action is and to what extent acts by private individuals and institutions can be regulated by the federal government by virtue of the Fourteenth Amendment. What if a private individual is guilty of some discriminatory practice prohibited by the Fourteenth Amendment? Can the federal government enjoin this private individual from further discriminatory practice? This problem was apparently put to rest in the *Civil Rights Cases*,³⁶ in which the Supreme Court held that discrimination by private individuals was beyond the reach of the Fourteenth Amendment. However, in the recent case of *Shelley v. Kraemer*³⁷ the problem was reborn. Confronting us again is the question of whether all private acts of discrimination, depending as they ultimately do upon the sanction of the state, are not forbidden by the Fourteenth Amendment.

Just how far the Fourteenth Amendment goes in protecting minority groups from discrimination by private individuals is not known. This problem could be of considerable importance if the Supreme Court should decide that segregation in public schools is unconstitutional. Some southern states might attempt to so far divorce themselves from the operation of schools that the federal government can no longer acquire jurisdiction over segregation practices in education. South Carolina has indicated that it will take exactly this course of action in the event of an unfavorable (to her) decision by the Supreme Court. Whether an attempt by a state to place the operation of the schools in private hands would be successful in placing segregation practices beyond the reach of the federal government under the Fourteenth Amendment, no one knows. The probability of successful achievement of this goal by a state is doubtful in view of the decision in the *Shelley* case. However, even if the *Shelley* decision was held not to extend so far as to prohibit all acts of discrimination by private individuals, still it is doubtful whether a state could successfully go out of the business of public education to such an extent as to place discriminatory practices beyond the jurisdiction of the federal system. This opinion is founded on two recent cases³⁸ decided by the Supreme Court. In *Screws v. United States*, the court held that the Fourteenth Amendment

applies to state officials even when their improper action is unauthorized or forbidden by state law. Of course, the application of this doctrine involves an invasion by the federal government into an area normally regarded as belonging to the states and their citizens exclusively. In *Smith v. Allwright*, the court held that the Fifteenth Amendment is involved when what is clearly a *governmental function* is being performed, despite efforts to strip the acting agency of all formal vestiges of state authority. There is no conceivable reason why the Supreme Court could not take a similar view as to federal jurisdiction under the Fourteenth Amendment.

The Supreme Court has never decided just where the line between state action and private action is to be drawn regarding jurisdiction over the schools. Some light is shed on this problem by the case of *Ferr v. Enoch Pratt Library*,³⁹ but the case appears to be *contra* to the case of *Norris v. Mayor and City Council of Baltimore*⁴⁰ and is, therefore, far from being a conclusive decision. In the *Ferr* case, the plaintiff was denied entrance into a library training course offered by the Enoch Pratt library, a private institution. The charter enabling the library to operate was granted by the state of Maryland, and for this reason alone, the court held that there was sufficient state action to give the federal government jurisdiction. The Supreme Court, in denying *certiorari* must have agreed with this holding, so perhaps the case can be said to indicate to what extent the federal government can control individuals in the states. However, the *Norris* case, cited *supra*, is in conflict with the *Ferr* case. In the *Norris* case, the federal district court held that discriminatory practices by the Maryland Institution for Promotion of the Mechanics Arts, a private institution, was not subject to the jurisdiction of federal courts under the Fourteenth Amendment. The case stands for the proposition that action of a private corporation of an educational nature does not become state action merely because the state or city advances money to the corporation. This case, to us, is irreconcilable with the *Ferr* case, for, if anything, the donation of funds by the state constitutes more state action than the mere granting of a charter.

What with the existence of this conflict of

authority in addition to the failure of the Supreme Court thus far to rule directly on this difficult jurisdictional problem, it is impossible to say what the future holds. The same can be said, obviously, about the "equal but separate" doctrine, for no one can know now just how the unsettled problems surrounding racial segregation will be resolved.

¹ U.S. Const. Amend. XIV, Sec. 1.

² 95 U.S. 485, 24 L.Ed. 547 (1877).

³ U.S. v. Buntin, 10 Fed. 730 (C.C. Ohio, 1882).

⁴ 163 U.S. 537, 16 Sup. Ct. 1138, 41 L.Ed. 256 (1896).

⁵ *Gong Lum v. Rice*, 275 U.S. 78, 48 S. Ct. 91, 72 L.Ed. 172 (1927).

⁶ *Missouri ex rel. Gaines v. Canada*, 305 U.S. 676, 59 S. Ct. 356 83 L.Ed. 437 (1938); rehearing denied, 59 S. Ct. 356 (1939).

⁷ *Bluford v. Canada*, 32 F. Supp. 707 (1940).

⁸ *Sipuel v. Board of Regents*, 332 U.S. 631, 68 S. Ct. 299, 92 L.Ed. 247 (1948).

⁹ *Ada Sipuel Fisher v. Board of Regents, et al*, 333 U.S. 147, 68 S. Ct. 389, 92 L.Ed. 604 (1948); and see opinion of the state court, 199 Okla. 36, 190P. 2d 437 (1948).

¹⁰ *Sipuel v. Board of Regents, supra*, note 8.

¹¹ *Sweatt v. Painter*, 339 U.S. 629, 70 S. Ct. 848, 94 L.Ed. 1114 (1950); *McLaurin v. Oklahoma State Regents for Higher Education*, 339 U.S. 637, 70 S. Ct. 851, 94 L. Ed. 1149 (1950).

¹² *Chambers, M. M., The Colleges and the Courts, 1946-50*, Columbia University Press, New York, 1952, pp. 21-3.

¹³ *Sipuel v. Board of Regents, supra*, note 8.

¹⁴ *McLaurin v. Board of Regents, supra*, note 11.

¹⁵ *Epps v. Carmichael*, 93 F. Supp. 327 (W.D.N.C., 1950).

¹⁶ *Rice v. Arnold*, 340 U.S. 848 (1950).

¹⁷ President's Committee on Civil Rights, *To Secure These Rights*, Washington, D. C., 1947, p. 82.

¹⁸ Tex. Const. Art. VII, Secs. 7, 14; Tex. Rev. Civ. Stat., articles 2643b (Supp. 1949) 2719, 2900 (Vernon, 1925).

¹⁹ *Brown v. Board of Education*, 98 F. Supp. 797 (1951).

²⁰ *Gebhart v. Belton*, 91A. 2d 137 (1952).

²¹ *Briggs v. Elliott*, 103F. Supp. 920 (1952).

²² *Davis v. County School Board of Prince Edward City*, 103 F. Supp. 337 (1952).

²³ *Bolling v. Sharpe*, D.C. Dist. Col.

²⁴ The President's Committee on Civil Rights, *To Secure These Rights*, p. 82.

²⁵ *Carr v. Corning*, 182 F. 2d 14 (D.C. Cir. 1950).

²⁶ *Epps v. Carmichael, supra*, note 15.

²⁷ 334 U.S. 1, 68 S. Ct. 36, 92 L.Ed. 1161 (1948).

²⁸ *Supra*, note 19.

²⁹ 177 F. 2d. 924 (C.C.A. 4th., 1949).

³⁰ *Carter v. School Board*, 182 F. 2d 531 (C.C.A. 4th., 1950).

³¹ *State ex rel. Brewton v. Board of Education*, 233 S. 2d 697 (Mo. 1950).

³² *Mendez v. Westminster School District*, 64 F. Supp. 544 (D.C. Calif. 1946).

³³ *Westminster School District v. Mendez*, 161 F. 2d 774 (C.C.A. 9th. 1947).

³⁴ Calif. Educ. Code, Secs. 16004, 16005.

³⁵ *Supra*, note 1.

³⁶ 109 U.S. 3, 3 S. Ct. 18, 27 L. Ed. 835 (1883).

³⁷ *Supra*, note 27.

³⁸ *Screws v. United States*, 325 U.S. 91, 65 S. Ct. 1031, 89 L.Ed. 1495 (1945); *Smith v. Allwright*, 321 U.S. 649, 64 S. Ct. 757, 88 L.Ed. 987 (1944).

³⁹ *Ferr v. Enoch Pratt Library*, 149 F. 2d 212 (4th. Cir., 1945), cert. denied, 326 U.S. 721 (1945).

⁴⁰ *Norris v. Mayor, et al*, 78 F. Supp. 451 (1948).

Let's Really Link America's Past with the Present

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"Thus," went on the droning voice of the history teacher, "The War of 1812 ended with the signing of the Treaty of Ghent in 1814."

As though by a pre-arranged signal, the bell rang at this point to emphasize the fact that the period was over and the class dismissed. Thirty drowsy students arose from their chairs and departed from the room in various stages of somnambulation. Behind them they left all the dull and stodgy facts that had been delivered to them in a fearsome monotone for the previous three-quarters of an hour. Once outside the door of the classroom, they inhaled

great lungfuls of free air, the clean air of the present. It quickly replaced the dank and dusty air of a long dead past.

And therein lies a great tragedy, a tragedy too often repeated in our public school classrooms today. For like the boy who could not see the forest for the trees, we of the teaching game sometimes can not see the tools with which we are supposed to work because they are so very near at hand. This is true in the method of presentation of various courses in our curriculums. Particularly is it true of history.

Too long has this subject been taught as "history for history's sake." We teachers oftentimes unfold before the eyes of the student the glorious panorama of history in golden prose. In short, the subject-matter is presented very interestingly, very entertainingly, which is all right as far as it goes. Herodotus himself, the so-called "Father of History," believed that it was his job as an historian to tell a good story.

However, if the social studies instructor tells the story of the American Revolution or the Congress of Vienna simply as such, then the work has no more objectivity or practical use than the recounting of the adventures of "Goldilocks and the Three Bears." Thucydides, the early Greek historian, went one step farther than did Herodotus. He realized that he was not simply telling a story for the story's sake, but was writing of past events in the hope that they could be of use in the interpretation of present day situations.

Such, in essence, is the value of present day history instruction. The old cliché to the effect that history repeats itself is, at face value, wholly false. History never repeats itself. If it did, our problems in the fields of social studies and political sciences would be as simple to solve as a mathematical equation.

No, strictly speaking, history does not repeat itself, but it does offer for us similarities and parallelisms between past and present events. In actuality, history is a key which, when skillfully inserted into the proper lock, will open the door to comprehensive and intelligent foresight. Therein lies the value of the subject. For we, as history teachers, must be able to interpret and to evaluate to our pupils past occurrences in the light of the present so that our ship of state is not forced to strike out into a sea of utter darkness.

We know, too, that the high school student of today enjoys the discussion of present day happenings. Most social studies teachers find classroom discussions more animated, find actual student interest and participation increased a hundred fold during a current events presentation. The child who cat-naps through the Cleveland administrations is on his toes and making valuable contributions when Korea is mentioned. Therefore, it stands to reason that we should tie up the present with the past

to inject some zip into the lessons of the days long gone by. The idea is so obvious that it is too often overlooked.

Take, for example, the discussion concerning the War of 1812. The teacher referred to at the outset of this article has through the colorless presentation of straight textbook facts, come up with a grand historical lullaby. How different the results might have been if he had drawn a parallel between the peace negotiations at Ghent and those at Panmunjong in a much later war. In both instances peace delegates of the warring factions met while the fighting was still going on. In 1814, America's delegation was in Europe six months before the final treaty was agreed to. And Henry Clay with his keen perception (made sharp by hours spent at card playing) was able to sense that the British were bluffing in their early outrageous peace demands. The present U.N. peace delegation may not include any card sharks, but certainly the members are aware that the opposition has done some magnificent bluffing.

Too, the use of rockets on the Korean front finds its earlier counterpart in history when the British employed rockets (of the Fourth of July variety) to throw fear into the hearts of the untrained Americans at the Battle of Bladensburg in 1814. This occurred just prior to the burning of the White House by the British and the hasty departure of President Madison from Washington. Similarities could also be found in our unpreparedness at the outset of the War of 1812 and our unreadiness at the beginning of World War II.

With such countless examples at our disposal, it is quite easy to impress upon the students the fact that there is very little new under the sun. Germ warfare propaganda? Read then, how after 1783 the Americans believed that British agents were injecting smallpox germs into Negroes and sending the contaminated persons into the midst of the colonials. Censuring and firing of General MacArthur? Just follow the trail of Andy Jackson into Spanish Florida and catch the amazing parallels to be drawn there. The drafting of Eisenhower for the presidential nomination? Check the data concerning General Zachary Taylor's nomination in 1848 and see what similarities present themselves.

As can readily be seen, the opportunities to infuse the past into the present's life blood are limitless. Below are listed just a few more examples that can be put to use.

1. Liken the U.N. army in Korea to the international forces that lifted the siege of Peiping during the Boxer Rebellion. Or, compare it to the multi-lingual armies that battled Red Russia after the close of World War I.

2. Compare the ideological struggle between Communism and the free world today to the earlier clash in Greek history between communistic Sparta and democratic Athens.

3. Show how Mr. Truman's executive powers were expanded during a national emergency, just as were the powers of Lincoln, Wilson, and F. D. Roosevelt before him.

4. Discuss the Panic of 1837 and the earlier overspeculation in land in relation to the overspeculation in stocks and bonds that helped bring on the depression of the 1930's.

5. Point out early failures of communal living in America, citing the collapse of the New Harmony settlement and the early hardships of the Jamestown community.

6. Show how Franklin Roosevelt's magnetic hold on his party kept the diversified elements of the party welded together as had Clay's personality earlier aided in holding the Whigs together. Point out that the deaths of these two chieftains led to splits in their respective parties.

In presenting such material, the teacher must not go overboard in arriving at black and white conclusions. Contrasting points should be brought out as well as the similarities which can be drawn in order to strike an honest balance. No social studies teacher has the right to substitute distorted sensationalism for historical truth. Nor has the instructor the authority to deal in abstract generalities instead of factual details.

Patrick Henry, America's fiery orator, set forth the following truism on the eve of the American Revolution. He said, "I have but one lamp by which my feet are guided, and that is the lamp of experience. I know of no way of judging the future but by the past." Let these irrefutable words stand as justification for employing the teaching methods here prescribed.

Governmental Subsidy and the Private Builder

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There is nothing new about the housing problem. It has been with us for many years, and, in all probability, it will be with us for a good many years to come. Inadequate dwellings have pockmarked our nation from the days when the first streams of humanity poured onto our shores. Today, approximately one-third of all American families are sheltered in homes lacking the minimum standards of decency. To these families, the housing problem is a very real thing twenty-four hours of the day. They know in terms of their daily lives the physical and moral effects of inadequate plumbing and sanitary facilities, of the lack of light and clean air, of overcrowding and little or no

privacy. They cannot help feeling that someone should make it possible for them to obtain decent homes at rents they can afford.

When no other aid makes itself available, government gets its mandate to enter this housing field, for it is the duty of any government to promote the general welfare, and it is in the nation's interest to see that all citizens are decently housed in safe and sanitary dwellings, conducive to wholesome living.

Direct government participation in the housing program, however, is limited to areas of the housing field which in the past private enterprise has never served and cannot reasonably be expected to serve in the near future.

With this in mind, it can be denied that government subsidy to the housing program infringes on the prerogatives of the private builder. The Federal government does not intrude where private enterprise can supply the demand.

Consider first, the clearance of slums for which government subsidy provides. Common sense tells us private enterprise is not in the business of sustaining losses, and the loss involved in slum clearance is great. Specifically, the cost of acquiring, clearing and making a slum area available will be far greater, in most cases, than any return realized by selling this land.

Yet, if we are to have healthy communities, the slums must be cleared. Civilization, national security, and our national economy demand it. When a local government cannot afford the job of slum clearance out of its limited tax resources, the Federal subsidy answers the call.

Now, consider the real "storm center" of the housing fight. This is low-rent public housing. For years, it has faced the well-organized opposition of the real estate lobby. Senator Ellender, of the defeated Taft-Ellender-Wagner Bill, watched this opposition to the low-rent section of the public housing program, and he was reminded of a small child who refuses to give up a toy he has never used and probably never will. But housing is no child's toy. It concerns the lives and well-being of millions of American families.

Generally, it is conceded that public housing for low-income groups does not compete with private housing, because private enterprise has not made adequate housing available at prices and rents the low-income families can afford. In the first place, the rent such groups can pay is far too low to interest or profit private enterprise. Secondly, the restrictions are such that tenants who can afford to rent privately-owned properties cannot qualify for public housing.

There is also the housing problem facing middle-income families. Private enterprise is building for those families in the top third of our income scale, and government subsidy is aimed at aiding the lowest third. But in between is the middle-income group, too "poor" to afford good private housing and too "rich" for eligibility for subsidizing housing. In this case, public housing is again justified if it is

considered an emergency measure. It is not to be extended to neighborhoods where private builders actively function.

Beyond governmental subsidy for slum-clearance projects and low-rent housing, there is a third housing area where Federal operation primarily belongs. This is the broad program of housing research and experimentation.

Houses cost too much, as everything else does, but houses always cost too much. Because too few can afford them, not enough are built, and a worn-out house unlike a broken-down jalopy, remains in use instead of going to the junk yard.

One reason for the high cost of housing is that we still put them together in much the same way our grandfathers did. Government research would employ modern technology to cut housing costs. By developing and encouraging the use of cost-saving materials and methods, this research program should result in lowered construction costs and increased production of private housing, if private enterprise accepts the Federal government as guide and patron of good housing. No single element in the building industry can afford to undertake this kind of research program.

Thus it is that government subsidy supplements the private builder in the housing program. The private builder has merely to show that he can do the whole job, and the job is his. Federal activity will then be unnecessary.

In the meantime, government subsidy is intended to aid and stimulate local initiative. The government's housing program is one of Federal aid with local control. It provides for a local Housing Authority who selects sites and hires local architects and contractors through competitive bidding. The projects when completed are managed by the local Authority.

The local Housing Authority must cooperate fully with city and state governments as well as with all private agencies in planning and rebuilding our cities. His work must be tied up with the city as a whole. Zoning and planning are necessary if new slums for the future are not to be created by lack of forethought.

The work of the Housing Authority demonstrates that federal financing can be provided while control remains within the local community.

Further, it can be seen that government subsidy to the housing program actually is a means of profit to private enterprise. Because of the subsidy, a vast additional market, which would otherwise not be available, is opened to local architects, contractors, and building supply companies.

Moreover, by improving neighborhoods, the government has made adjacent real estate more valuable. Private property adjoining slums or blighted areas rapidly decreases in value, and only when the slum areas are improved can values increase.

In still another way, government subsidy profits the private builder. This is by way of a limited amount of indirect competition. Some

home owners, looking on low-rent housing, which may be in some respects better than their own quarters, soon are in the market for housing with the desired improvements added to their own present standards. Here is created a new demand which the private builder can supply.

No one claims government subsidy will solve the housing problem over-night. It is only a good beginning with a long-range effect. But it is hoped that with the aid of this subsidy, private enterprise will expand its area of operations until it is serving the housing needs of all Americans. If and when this comes about, we will no longer need much of the program now necessary.

Careers in the Social Sciences*

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"Social," in this connotation, means concerned with groups of people living or doing things together.

The recognized component disciplines or subjects are: anthropology, economics, geography, history, political science, and sociology.

Each of these disciplines has a body of people who profess to be working in it, professional societies and professional periodicals for the exchange of ideas, and some considerable degree of organization of the collective knowledge possessed by its members.

The basic aim of each is the better *understanding* of human groups, gained from looking at social phenomena (facts about groups of people) in the light of the discipline's collective knowledge. This puts a premium on individual breadth of knowledge, not only of one's chosen discipline but of all related ones.

It seems to be a common trait of thoughtful professionals in the social science subjects continually to define, redefine, and disagree on the

limits and methods of their disciplines, and even on their central cores. This lack of agreement has to some degree held back organization of the knowledge available in these fields; but on the other hand it has helped to keep these subjects from getting into a rut and has promoted the introduction of new ideas.

Instead of attempting to define the six disciplines, I will give you my view of what constitutes the central core and interest of each, differentiating it from the others.

Anthropology deals with races, languages and cultures found in different localities and in different periods of time.

Economics "deals with social phenomena centering about the providing of food, shelter, clothing and the other material needs of individuals and of organized groups." (Seligman, E.R.A., *Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences*, Volume V, p. 344, modified)

Geography deals with distribution (over the world) of people, social phenomena and physical environments, with the map as an essential tool and the geographic region as a central concept that pulls all of the information together.

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History deals with the stream of human experience and human events since people first began to leave records, with emphasis on periods of change and their causes and consequences.

Political Science deals with social phenomena centering about the government of human affairs in organized areas such as nations or colonies.

Sociology deals with social phenomena centering about group-living, particularly the forms of organized human groups such as the family, clan, tribe, etc.; with their institutions, such as the church, laws, education, etc.; and with their functions.

Since the subjects use many of the same facts they naturally overlap considerably, and not only over each other but over other disciplines like psychology or math as well, which emphasizes the premium on breadth, and there are several active interdisciplinary fields, such as economic history or political geography. Recognition of the interrelatedness of these disciplines has given rise to courses entitled "social science," but not to a new over-all discipline.

What do people in these professions do for a living?

They do research, they apply their knowledge to the practical problems of business and government, they teach, write and lecture. Some, by virtue of the breadth of their understanding and other abilities, become administrators, such as college presidents. Some do more than one of these things, or even all of them.

Beginners other than teachers in these disciplines do spade work primarily, using their book-learning and skills acquired up to that point, and getting experience. Gradually they do more supervision and planning, more consulting on practical problems and programs, take more responsibility, and exert more influence upon others' thinking. The teachers begin by teaching what they have just learned or what is in the books. They progress to teaching more of the product of their own experience and independent study.

In geography, for instance, beginners' jobs are usually:

- (1) collecting and organizing information about individual small parts of the

world, or single topics, according to prearranged plans, or

- (2) performing the less complex or skill-demanding parts of map making, or
- (3) teaching classes—elementary school to college, using (mostly) material selected, assembled and organized by others.

All of these fields require special training, for all practical purposes college training, in the special field together with as broad an education as possible. A college major will get one started. Graduate work enlarges both capacities and opportunities. Many colleges and universities offer such training.

The high school preparation for the fields includes oral and written expression, mathematics, sciences and languages. The better the command one has of these, the better equipped one is for college and the profession beyond.

What of the future of these disciplines?

While I do not agree with the dismal prophets who cry that the world is going to the dogs, it is hardly necessary to point out that this is a time when many areas and peoples are in a ferment. We need to know more and more about other people and the places where they live, to understand why they think and do as they do, and how we can get along best together. We fear what we do not understand, including people. With understanding, fear of other people goes away. Who is to provide the understanding? The social scientists, if we can provide enough of them. That is why the U.N. has UNESCO.

In a period of rapid change, such as now, the successful person is one who can readjust. This is much easier if the changes are recognized and understood—another job for the social sciences.

How much money is there in it?

If you want to get rich, choose something else. The people in the social sciences make a decent living, and a few economists make big money, I hear, but the principal rewards come in another form. Understanding is more exciting and satisfying than the unnecessary things one can buy with money.

When one goes up in a plane, or on top of a skyscraper, or a mountain, all the little details of life that usually surround us are lost to sight; instead one sees broad patterns and the relation of big things to each other. One gets

a new perspective. The social sciences are like that.

If you go into one of these fields you will probably study—along the way somewhere—ancient history. By the time you get to it ancient history will have gone backward in time, for you, and will no longer start at about the date of your parents' wedding. You will study about the conflict between two Greek city states, Athens and Sparta, and will see that this was more than a mere rivalry; it was a collision of two entirely different concepts of group-living. In Athens, self restraint, clear thinking and democracy were virtues and the individual was superior to the state. In Sparta, strength, courage and ruthlessness were the virtues and the individual was virtually the slave of the state.

This was a conflict of utmost importance, for the winning side would spread its way of life for centuries over as much of the world as the one (Athens) could teach or the other (Sparta) could conquer. You will see the parallel between that conflict and the present collision of essentially the same two concepts and will understand better what the outcome means to mankind in general and to you in particular.

Later you will probably trace the long uphill fight by which human rights have been won and understand why, once lost, they can only be regained by another long uphill fight.

Perhaps you will study a primitive society and understand why it persisted if it took full advantage of its natural habitat (food supply, etc.) without destroying it, and how it perished if it didn't; you may even see that some primitive people with little knowledge had greater wisdom and lived happier lives than the people with more knowledge who destroyed them.

Or you may learn to understand why a good rain in our Great Plains may affect the price of luxuries in Buenos Aires, by influencing the size of the wheat crop and consequently the world price of wheat which Argentina sells for money that will buy luxuries.

You may even come to look upon the family, as an institution, with a detached impersonal understanding of the function it performs in many types of society—impersonal, that is, until you have one. Then all these understandings will be a great comfort to you. When junior says that times are different than when you were young, you'll be way ahead of him. You'll know why.

Geopolitics of Thailand

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Right in the middle of one of the world's most explosive areas, in Southeast Asia, lies Thailand, with its exotic capital, Bangkok, having one of the most modern airports in the Far East. But the country is shadowed by the vast and ominous mass that is Red China, together with Malaya, Burma, and Indo-China, where Communist-led rebels plunder, kill, and burn. Fortunately, Thailand, so far, has not been faced with the destructive work of the guerrillas of the Communists as the surrounding countries have been, although, despite Thailand's outwardly placid mood, the Communists have been trying to insinuate a fifth column among the residents of Chinese

ancestry, who form almost one-sixth of the total population.

In fact, this Buddhist country has been so well publicized as a never-never land of happy, well-fed, pro-American people that it seems callous to point out that Thailand has its troubles too. The major worry is the creeping approach of Communist influence from China's direction. Despite the help that Thailand is getting from the United States, could Thailand's army of only 30,000 men successfully put up a long resistance against a determined aggressor?

The Geographic Setting

The country is divided into four sections.

In the west and north a chain of mountains forms a natural boundary between Thailand and Burma; this area is the source of the nation's timber wealth. The eastern section, bordering on French Indo-China, consists of the Korat Plateau which is largely undeveloped although it is believed to be rich in potential resources. The central region, one vast plateau, is the principal rice growing area; it houses the bulk of the population. These three areas form a compact region known as Upper Thailand. The fourth region, known as Lower Thailand is comprised of a long narrow arm which extends southward in the Malay Peninsula to the Straits Settlements; this region is mountainous with intermittent plains and is the center of the tin industry.

Economically, Thailand is solvent. Rice, the greatest agricultural product, is produced in sufficient quantities to feed the entire population; it constitutes two-thirds of the nation's exports, and revenue from the sale of the grain abroad could alone support the Government. The surplus quantities are exported mainly to British Malaya. Nearly 90% of the area under cultivation is devoted to rice fields. Fresh and salt water fish are numerous and form the second most important item in the nation's diet. The mango, mangosteen, litchi, durian, guava, pomegranate, pineapple, and all the other fruits of southeast Asia, the Indian Islands and tropical American areas are abundant. Cocoa oil is exported. Tobacco, maize, cotton, peas, sugar cane, and pepper are also important products. Rubber production is growing.

Tin, the second most important export, is the only mineral worked to any extent. Precious and semi-precious stones, especially rubies and sapphires, are also commercially important.

Thailand is rich in timber. Teak trees abound in the forests of Upper Thailand, and are used for the construction of junks and temples; timber is also exported for ship-building. Oak and pine trees flourish, in addition to other forest products.

Manufacturing is limited to rice and teak mills, sawmills, tanneries, and small factories for the manufacture of cement, soap, tile, furniture, and bricks.

Bangkok

The city of Bangkok, standing only four feet

above sea level, is but the development of a mere collection of huts on the swampy estuary of the River Chao Phya. The waters of the River Chao Phya and its numerous canals—kongs, they are called—are homes still to tens of thousands of this city's 1,000,000 people who live in boats upon the muddy surface or in houses perched on spindly poles above the banks. Rivers and canals provide them with a complete sanitary system as well as water for cooking, drinking, laundering, and even cleaning their teeth. Most of the water dwellers are, by oriental standards, scrupulously clean, constantly cleaning their clothes or bathing. The canals are busy avenues of traffic for hundreds of craft, large and small, poled, paddled, rowed, or motor-driven.

Down the River Chao Phya, rice for the bowls of Asia is brought to Bangkok in long trains of barges with accommodation fore and aft of the cargo which is stored amidships. The barge trains are pulled by antiquated noisy steam tugs. Downstream from the rich teak-bearing forests of the north come also great rafts of logs to the Bangkok sawmills. Since teak-stealing is almost a profession in Siam, the logs are guarded by watchmen who build flimsy houses on the rafts.

Bangkok sprawls along the banks of the Menam Chao Phraya (Royal Mother of Waters) about twenty miles upstream from the river's outlet into the Gulf of Siam. The old river village from which Bangkok sprang up (now Bangkok's suburb, Tonburi) has developed into three bodies: the city proper; the palace area (where about a mile of stone walls enclose the royal residence and government offices), and the floating town. Most of the city is actually spread along the eastern bank of the river, Bangkok's main street, although land streets displaced canals at the turn of the century. The towering spires and gilded gables of Bangkok's many temples give the city architectural distinction, reflecting the native skill with their curving roof lines glittering with insets of colored glass and porcelain, and their walls decorated with mosaics and frescoes. About one-fifth of the ten-square-mile area of the city is taken up by the more than three hundred temples and their surrounding park-like grounds.

Bangkok's population is composed of many cultural groups. Chinese shops and Chinese people are everywhere. European firms do a thriving business. East Indians operate bazaars dealing in silks, gems, and curios. Commercially, the Japanese were quite in evidence before World War II.

The climate is hot and humid, the temperature running in summer about 100 degrees Fahrenheit; in winter it seldom falls below 65 degrees. The rainfall usually totals more than 50 inches annually; most of it comes between April and November.

A network of railways connects Bangkok with the inland towns, French Indo-China, Burma, and the Malay Peninsula. Steamers connect the city with Singapore, Saigon, and Hong Kong. Bangkok is the outstanding air centre of Southeast Asia.

In fact, Bangkok is the aerial gateway to the Far East. Thai air routes cover the kingdom and join it to near-by points in India, Hong Kong, French Indo-China, and Malaya. Eighty-five per cent of Thailand's direct foreign trade is handled at Bangkok's docks, railroad termini, and airport. The city is 994 miles from Singapore and 1,553 miles from Hong Kong. In addition to direct access by air, it may be reached from Penang in British Malaya by rail, from Singapore by rail or steamer, from Hong Kong by steamer, and from Saigon in French Indo-China by overland routes during certain times of the year or by infrequent steamer service. The Siam Navigation Company runs two coastwise lines from Bangkok.

Agriculture

Nearly 90% of the population works at agriculture. Rice, with a production of 6,684,000 metric tons in 1950, is the principal crop, the staple food and the leading export. It is the basis of Thailand's economy and the key to its prosperity. Other products are coconuts, corn, tobacco, cotton, sesame, sugar cane, and soybeans. Livestock, poor in quality and quantity, is used mainly for hauling. Manufacturing is of little importance, except for native handicrafts and food processing.

Communications

The air facilities in Thailand exceed by far the other communication facilities, except the inland waterways, which are the oldest and

the most important means of inland transportation in the country, carrying more than three-fourths of the country's traffic in produce. Although the border rivers (the Salween on the West and the Mekong on the East) are important, the main channel is the Menam Chao Phraya, with its tributaries. This river provides intercommunication among the three important canal systems—the Pasak South System (east of the Menam), the Suphan System (north of Bangkok), and the Western System.

Highways have been held subordinate to the state railways; actually there are less than 1,000 miles of usable roadway outside of Bangkok; the roads exist chiefly as small networks around local railway and river points, and do not form even the skeleton of a highway system.

The Royal State Railways cover a little more than 2,000 miles of meter-gauge lines, radiating out from Bangkok to the Malayan border in the south, Chiang Mai in the north, and the Indo-Chinese border in the east. Due to the damages suffered during World War II, the whole railway system needs to be rebuilt.

The port of Bangkok, through which pass about 80% of Thailand's imports as well as over half its exports, lies approximately 23 miles inland from the sea on the Menam Chao Phraya, its harbor area extending along the river about three miles above and six miles below the Royal Palace. A sand bar at the mouth of the river limits navigation to vessels of about 18-foot draft. Vessels of all sizes tie up for lighterage service at an open-seas roadstead at Kohn Sichang, in the Siamese Gulf near the mouth of the river; other roadsteads permitting lighterage to large vessels are at Songhla on the east coast of the Peninsula (where, except in the winter monsoon season, rubber is loaded) and Phuket, a small island off the west coast of the Peninsula (from which tin is shipped).

Foreign Trade

Principal exports are rice, tin, rubber, and teak. Textiles, foodstuffs, metal manufactures, oil fuels, machinery, tobacco, and yarns are the chief imports. Exports are primarily to Singapore, the United States, India, Hong Kong, and the United Kingdom; the same

countries supply most of the imports. But Japan's revived industry is ousting United States and British concerns from Thailand's markets in recent years. The Japanese success is partly the result of the official welcome given the returned Japanese, even though Thailand had one of the strongest anti-Japanese underground movements in Asia. Elsewhere in south-east Asia, the Japanese are still regarded with open or veiled hostility, but in the main the Thais like the Japanese, and admire their industrial "know how" and wartime successes. Even those who opposed them during World War II have dropped their enmity, or as Seni Pramoj, leader of the Free Thai Movement in the United States during the war and first post-war Prime Minister, said: "The Thais are quick to forgive and forget." Bangkok's Chinese traders also have welcomed the return of the Japanese businessmen. The Japanese have no special trading privileges, but they profit from their proximity to the Thai market and the consequent low freight costs. Actually, Japanese business is being transacted through established Thai, Chinese, British, and other concerns.

The People

Of the total population of about eighteen million (an increase of about 12% over the population four years ago), only about one million are said to be Siamese. Of the remainder the largest segment is Chinese, with the rest made up of Malays, Cambodians, Annamites, Shans, and Burmese—all members of the large Mongolian family. Many of them are descendants of people who have settled in the nation centuries ago, and they are now hardly distinguishable from the true Siamese people. Some 2,000 Europeans and Americans live in Thailand, chiefly in Bangkok.

The people are gentle, patient, law-abiding, and hospitable to foreigners. They are light-hearted, sympathetic, and little given to quarreling or to violent crimes. Marriage takes place at an early age, the men marrying at 17 or 18 and the women at 14 or 15. Among the upper classes a man may have more than one wife but the first wife is recognized as the head of the household. The caste system, such as that characteristic of India, does not exist in Thailand.

The dress of both men and women consists of the panung, a piece of cloth a yard wide and three yards long, wound around the waist so that it hangs down and covers the thighs. Most of this cloth, formerly homespun, is now machine-made and imported from Great Britain and India. Silk is used instead of cotton by the wealthy and the nobility. A majority of people go bare-foot.

Staple foods are rice and fish with which a small quantity of hot water or tea is taken. Food is placed in dishes on the floor and the family squat around these and eat with their fingers. Spoons, forks, and knives are used only by the upper classes. Arak, brewed from rice or sugar, is the intoxicating beverage. Tobacco is more commonly used for chewing than for smoking. Betel-chewing is a habit common to all women and it is frequently practiced at banquets. Open air sports, such as kite-flying and football, together with cock-fighting and fish-fighting exhibitions, are popular. Houses are formed wholly of wood or bamboo roofed with palm leaves and mostly raised on piles; many people live in houses constructed on boats.

Foreign Relations

By playing one power against another Thailand has succeeded, so far, in maintaining itself as the sole independent state of southeast Asia; but this was achieved only at the loss of some territory and with restriction on its sovereignty for a considerable period. In a treaty with Great Britain in 1855 Siam granted exemption from the jurisdiction of Siamese courts to all British subjects in Siam and agreed never to raise its import duties on English goods beyond three per cent. In 1856 the United States secured the same extraterritorial rights and economic rights; the same privileges were obtained in 1870 by France, Denmark, Portugal, the Netherlands, Germany, Sweden, Norway, Belgium, Italy, Austria-Hungary, and Spain. The 1907 treaty with France provided that French subjects and protégés should be subject to the jurisdiction of the Siamese courts, though some extraterritorial rights were retained and French Asiatic subjects were extended all the rights and privileges enjoyed by Siamese subjects. A similar treaty was signed with Great Britain in 1909.

The United States surrendered all rights of extraterritoriality in 1920; it recognized the right of Siam to fiscal autonomy, agreeing to remove the restrictions as soon as possible when all other treaty powers having similar rights should do so. Similar treaties were secured from Japan in 1923, France, the Netherlands, Great Britain, Spain, and Denmark in 1925, and Italy, Belgium, and Norway in 1926. But large areas of the country were lost to France in 1893, 1904, and 1907, and in 1909 Siam surrendered all claims over the Malay States of Perlis, Kedah, Kelantan, and Trengganu in favor of Great Britain.

Thailand, in fact, is the only country in southeast Asia that has maintained political independence and never been colonized by the western powers. The Prime Minister, subtle-minded Pibul Songgram, was forced to collaborate with the Japanese during World War II; but at the same time, he refused to visit Japan. After World War II he made substantial reforms; one which caused much amusement was that every Siamese husband must kiss his wife before leaving for work. Above all, he was able to appease the Western Allies, who have helped his regime ever since with substantial grants, although his government had declared war on them. Today, Pibul is America's ardent friend; Thailand was the first country to offer troops to Korea—although having full relations with the Soviet Union.

Strategic Aspects

Thailand is a relative calm in a rather stormy corner of the world. Externally, Thailand's main concern is the spread of Communist activity in adjacent Indo-China, where the frontiers of Laos and Cambodia march for more than 1,000 miles with those of this country. The Thailand-Indo-China frontier is so much a jungle and so porous that illegal movement back and forth is a relatively simple matter. For a long time there has been a brisk trans-border traffic in smuggled arms, mostly from Thailand into Laos and Cambodia; and Indo-China is the Communist gateway to southeast Asia.

Inside Thailand, Communist activity is centered mainly in the large Chinese community. A great majority of the Chinese are political fence sitters, but the Communist minority is well organized, energetic, and growing.¹

Occupying the central part of the Indo-Chinese Peninsula and a considerable part of the Malay Peninsula, Thailand has a long coastline on the Gulf of Siam but a relatively short one on the Bay of Bengal. Except for the Kra Isthmus, which is under Thai sovereignty, Thailand is separated from the Bay of Bengal by a long, narrow strip of Burmese territory.

These geographical facts have made Bangkok a very important airplane hub, since some sixteen international airlines use it as a transit point for Far Eastern routes, especially since the air routes are protected from monsoons. This strategic aspect had been previously demonstrated by the events of World War II. Then the Japanese-held capital was moved from Bangkok to Petchabun, 190 miles inland from Bangkok, remote from railways and main highways. From Bangkok the U. S. Air Forces bombed the railways leading to Japan's beleaguered garrisons in Burma. A network of railways radiating from Bangkok links the capital to the inland towns of the country, to French Indo-China, Burma, and the Malaya Peninsula; steamers provide connections with Singapore, Siagoj, and Hong Kong; airplanes connect it with Chiang Mai (Chiangmai) to the north, and Phuket, tin ore port halfway down the west coast of the Malaya Peninsula.

Since World War II, Bangkok has become the center of commercial aviation in Southeast Asia, despite the fact that only limited facilities exist at the Don Muang airfield, where extension of runways and other improvements have not been completed. Thailand is the hub of international air routes of the British Overseas Airways, Cathay-Pacific, Royal Dutch Airlines, Pan-American Airways Corporation, and Malayan Airways, Ltd. The Central Air Transport of China inaugurated bi-weekly flights from Bangkok to Shanghai in 1948. Air France operates a weekly flight between Bangkok and Saigon, and the South American and Far East Airways (Norwegian) makes a bi-weekly stop at Bangkok on its Europe-Far East route. Three Thai air lines, Pacific Overseas Airlines (Siam) Ltd., Siamese Airways Company, Ltd., and Trans-Asiatic Airlines (Siam), Limited, also connect Thailand with other southeast Asian points. Internal Air service, connecting the main urban, commercial, and mining

centers, is offered by Siamese Airways Company, Limited.

Because of its physical location, Thailand has benefited from the services offered by the United Nations. Several regional offices of the U.N. are located in Bangkok—the Food and Agriculture Organization's Far East Office, the International Rice Commission, and the Economic Commission for Asia and the Far East. For that reason, also, probably, Thailand has sent ground troops to join the U.N. forces in Korea; at the 6th session of the ECAFE in May, 1950, held in Bangkok, it was the Thai representative who countered a Soviet move to oust the Nationalist Chinese delegation by proposing that the Commission refer the question of Chinese representation to a higher body of the U.N. When the Thai move was carried, the Soviet representative left the meeting.

Direct American interests in Thailand are related to the growing awareness of Washington of the need to treat Asiatic problems as a unit; in fact, Thailand is a country which has become of substantial importance to the United States especially as a result of the Korean War. Of all the Southeast Asian countries, it is the only state that is not overpopulated and which grows enough rice to feed itself. The United States appreciated also that Thailand was the first country to offer a contingent of troops to the United Nations forces in Korea. In 1950, a U. S. mission, headed by R. Allen Griffin, visited Thailand (and other countries of Southeast Asia) to survey the needs of these nations for technical aid under the proposed Point Four Program for technical assistance to underdeveloped areas. Already a recipient of U. S. military aid under the Mutual Defense Assistance Program, the re-equipment of Army battalions for Thailand's northern provinces enabled the Bangkok government to strengthen its northern security up to the level of that in the south where Britain's equipment supplies the Thai troops guarding the southern provinces against Communist infiltration from and into Malaya. Under the cooperative arrangement, Thailand allows British patrols to pursue lawless elements from Malaya for some distance into Thailand and the British permit the Thais to make similar penetrations into Malaya. Although the French have pressed Bangkok for a parallel agreement relating to the

Cambodian and Laotian borders, the Thais have been unwilling to approve French incursions.

Thailand's resources are also important to the United States in its rearmament. In 1947 the first tin ore was sent from Thailand directly to war smelters of Texas City in American boats; the U. S. also started to buy more rubber and tin ore directly, paying in dollars. Pan-American Airways has chosen Bangkok as the base for its southeast Asia operations and is the principal user of Bangkok's Don Muang Airport.

British influence in Thailand, dominant before World War II, has continued and is characterized by extensive trading between Great Britain and Thailand. The Thai government is also concerned with the Vietnamese activities in Thailand's section bordering on Indo-China; the government has officially recognized the Governments of Vietnam, Cambodia, and Laos and has thus overtly opposed Communist forces in Indo-China. At the same time, Thailand has maintained official relations with the Soviet Union since 1946.

With the exception of the short period after World War II, Thailand has never had formal diplomatic relations with China—even though there had been close contact between the two countries for hundreds of years. The Chinese in Thailand have made a practice of segregating themselves into separate communities, importing Chinese teachers, and maintaining their allegiance to China, in spite of their permanent residence in Thailand. Their activities, cultural and political, have aroused innumerable variations of ill-feeling between Chinese and the Thais. Although Thailand has not recognized the Mao Communist regime, there has been some trading between China and Thailand.

Thailand's reputation as the "Rice Bowl" of Southern China is no longer justified since the heavy rice shipments to southern China have stopped. Communist China has not yet indicated to what extent it will need Thailand's rice, and future relations between China and Thailand hinge greatly on the rice factor. Other determining factors in Chinese-Thai relations will be the activities of the three million Chinese residing in Thailand, and

whether the Communist influences among them will threaten Thailand's security.

In short, although Thailand is not in danger of overt aggression as are Indo-China, Burma, and Malaya, the states which outrank it in Soviet priority, the internal danger of Thailand is the most important geopolitical danger: the three million Chinese—all of whom might

be forced to become Communist fifth columnists.

¹ Victor Purcell, "The Chinese in Southeast Asia," pp. 273-287, in Lennox A. Mills & Associates, *The New World of Southeast Asia* (Minneapolis, Minn.: University of Minnesota Press, 1949); Victor Purcell, *The Chinese in Southeast Asia* (New York: Royal Institute of International Affairs, 1951); R. J. Coughlin, "The Status of the Chinese Minority in Thailand," *Pacific Affairs*, XXV, 4 (December, 1952) 378-389.

The Social Studies Teacher and Political Science: Part VI

The Teacher and the Social Studies

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That "Eternal Vigilance is the price of Liberty" has long been accepted by most Americans. It is obvious that tomorrow's "aroused electorate" must be the product of today's schoolroom. Recognition of these two principles is attested to by the existence of "civics" and "problems" courses in our schools. It is hoped that this paper, concerning the discipline of political science, will prove helpful to the teachers of such courses and of more general courses in social studies or history.

Anyone beginning the study of political science will become aware of two differences of opinion among its leading writers. Both of these points of view relate to the rather indefinite scope of political science. The first concerns the inclusion or exclusion of values—in effect, political philosophy. The second involves the limits imposed by the concept of the state.

Nineteenth century political scientists in the main concentrated their attention upon the state as an institution. They studied its development, characteristics, and operation, but with most emphasis upon structure and organization. Only those human activities which resulted from man's association with the state were considered within the scope of political science. Implicit in this approach is the assumption that man is an independent being who behaves rationally, and that it is only

necessary to point out to him the structural arrangement of the institutions in his social environment to assist him to apply his reason more efficiently.

But about the turn of the century the recognition that man does not always act as a reasonable animal caused a transfer of attention from the formal organization of the state to the actual activities of the people who compose it, and of the groups to which they belong. Thus today to understand the operations of Congress we look beyond the theory of the separation of powers, the rules of the House of Representatives and of the Senate, and behind the debates as recorded in the *Congressional Record*, to the sectional, economic, and even ideological backgrounds of the members and to the influence of lobbies and pressure groups around them.

But once the bars of the institutional approach are lowered where does one stop? With the consideration of group activities in general we approach the area of sociology. Yet it is common usage to speak of the "politics" of club members, of college faculties, of church members, and of other non-governmental bodies. Political dynamics are not confined to official groups.

Moreover, the complexity of modern society

and the expansion of governmental activities compel us to reconsider some basic problems. What, after all, are, or should be, the end or ends of the state? Any consistent treatment of the issues of public finance, government controls, prosecution of our foreign policy, or the age-old conflict between freedom and authority requires more than a superficial answer to this question. Thus it is easy to understand how a recent president of the American Political Science Association in an address to his colleagues could urge them to return to Aristotle's conception of political science as the Master Science.

While we will consider both the shift of attention to political dynamics and the renewed interest in political philosophy, our main interest in this paper will be to call attention to those aspects of political science which might serve to prepare today's youth for the full assumption of the privileges and responsibilities of citizenship. (For consideration of this problem on the college level one should consult *Goals for Political Science*¹ and the Reed Report.²)

Concepts

Despite the recent shift of attention among political scientists to human activities and the processes and power relations upon which they depend, consideration of the state cannot be ignored. It remains one of the basic concepts of political science because practically all mankind is segmentally organized within states. The state modifies the activities of everyone within its boundaries and even more thoroughly affects the relations between the various portions of humanity. Could the state and its peculiar qualities be eliminated, nothing would be left to distinguish political science from sociology.

The state is a group of people organized for a purpose. This may be very narrow—as in a laissez-faire type where the purpose was the maintenance of internal order and the prevention of outside interference—or very extensive—as in the Greek *polis* where individual interests were merged in the community's. Other characteristics of the state are territorial limitations and a monopoly of the legitimate use of coercion.

Most common today is the nation-state in

which the boundaries of the state coincide with those of the nation. A nation is a group of people with common traditions, common culture and generally a common language. There are also multi-national states (e.g., the U.S.S.R. and Switzerland) and nations without the status of a state (e.g., the Poles before 1919).

The state should also be distinguished from the government. The state is the more inclusive term and embraces both the people and the government, which is composed of the various organs and mechanisms through which the state functions to control and regulate the people.

Sovereignty is another concept of political science. In the international field it is equivalent to the independence which characterizes states. In the fields of political theory and constitutional law it is considered to be the supreme power or ultimate authority.

Edward M. Sait³ offers an historical description of the gradual evolution of the modern nation-state. The same subject is treated from a sociologist's point of view by Robert M. MacIver in *The Modern State*.⁴

One of the leaders in the movement to de-emphasize the state has been Frederick M. Watkins.⁵ He rejects the legalistic concept of a monopoly of force and the absolutist concept of sovereignty which he regards as simply the abstract limit to the state, a quality of omnipotence which realistically the state can only approach as its actual power exceeds that of other associations within its "territorially delimited segment of human society."

A study of sovereignty is also included in Sait's book referred to above and a lengthier analysis can be found in several books by Harold Laski.⁶

Various introductory textbooks provide briefer but worthwhile examinations of these and other concepts.⁷ More intensive analyses of the extreme pervasiveness of the problem of government can be found in MacIver's *The Web of Government*⁸ and Charles E. Merriam's *Systematic Politics*.⁹

Structure of the American Government

There are numerous textbooks devoted to American government. That by Ogg and Ray,¹⁰ now in its tenth edition, is well documented and contains a wealth of information. It is

probably consulted more often than any other single volume in its field. William Anderson's *American Government*,¹¹ while not so jam-packed with facts, probably offers more insight into the spirit of our government and problems of its operation.

The underlying concepts of our nation are treated in several books. A very intensive examination is given by A. N. Holcombe in *Our More Perfect Union*.¹² He sets forth five basic principles of our democracy: popular sovereignty, the rule of law, separation of powers, federalism, and the natural limitations upon the majority. Holcombe discusses the three opposing groups represented at the Philadelphia Convention and the compromises which finally produced the constitution. He then examines in detail the operation of the principle of the separation of powers and the effects of federalism, sectional interest and political parties. The main point he makes is that of the adaptability and versatility of our system of government.

Several well known works are worth consulting on various aspects of American government, or about it in general at different periods in its development. Among these are *The Federalist* by Alexander Hamilton, James Madison and John Jay,¹³ *Democracy in America* by Alexis De Tocqueville,¹⁴ and *The American Commonwealth* by James Bryce.¹⁵ Historians have produced valuable descriptions and analyses of the development of American ideas. Notable are Vernon Parrington's *Main Currents in American Thought*,¹⁶ Merle Curti's *The Growth of American Thought*¹⁷ and Ralph Gabriel's *The Course of American Democratic Thought*.¹⁸

More emphasis upon the theory of American democracy can be found in such books as Carl Becker's *Modern Democracy*¹⁹ and *Freedom and Responsibility in The American Way of Life*.²⁰ The above-mentioned *Democracy in America* also contains valuable observations upon the principles of democracy in general and A. D. Lindsay's *The Modern Democratic State*²¹ considers more abstractly our type of government.

An authoritative treatment of the office and powers of the presidency can be found in *The President, Office and Powers* by Edward S.

Corwin.²² He approaches the subject by way of constitutional law.

The Supreme Court and the development of constitutional law are similarly considered in detail by Benjamin F. Wright²³ and Carl B. Swisher.²⁴ In a highly readable volume called *Lions Under the Throne*,²⁵ Charles P. Curtis discusses the Supreme Court's role in our government of separated powers and specifically some important transitions in its point of view which generally have resulted in an expansion of the federal government's power in the field of economics and a curtailment of its power in civil liberties, particularly religious freedom. His thesis is that this highest court should serve as another organ in the reconciliation of opposing points of view but that it should not abuse its role as final interpreter of statute and constitution. Robert H. Jackson, now himself a Justice of the Court, set forth the political role of the Supreme Court in his book, *The Struggle for Judicial Supremacy*,²⁶ in which he examines the conflict between the court and the New Deal. Another view of the Supreme Court during the uncertain period of the 1930's and '40's is presented in C. H. Pritchett's *The Roosevelt Court*.²⁷ He attempts to reach some conclusions regarding the principles upon which the Justices operate by analyzing statistically various opinions, especially dissents, rendered in cases where the Justices were sharply divided. For further insight into the operations of the Court and the men who compose it one can consult numerous excellent biographies of individual Justices, outstanding among which is Albert J. Beveridge's *Life of John Marshall*.²⁸

The legislative branch has been the subject of several recent books. A descriptive treatment filled with facts is Floyd M. Riddick's *The U. S. Congress, Organization and Procedure*.²⁹ As suggested by its title, Stephen K. Bailey's *Congress Makes a Law*³⁰ is concerned with the operational aspects of this legislative body.

An intensive case study of political dynamics involved in Congress's efforts to pass legislation which would relax restrictions upon the Portland cement industry and of the President's subsequent veto is presented in *The Group Basis of Politics*.³¹ Examples of the variety of

activities, ranging from political campaigns to Congressional investigations to services for constituents, which the life of a senator or congressman includes, in addition to specific law-making, are set forth in *Congress at Work*.³² Some suggestions for streamlining the organization of Congress are put forward by Senator Estes Kefauver and Jack Levin in *Twentieth-Century Congress*.³³ A broader examination of the theories of law and legislating bodies is made by Harvey Walker in *The Legislative Process*.³⁴

Expansion of the Problem of Administration

Thus far we have considered the three branches of the federal government rather independently in keeping with the principle of the separation of powers. But absolutes are more amenable to theoretical discussion than to practical application. Holcombe points out in *Our More Perfect Union* how the separation-of-powers principle is counteracted by the checks-and-balances principle. Furthermore, in the numerous administrative agencies of the executive branch we find examples of the combination of all three powers. For instance, the ICC regulates interstate transportation, supervises the observance of such regulations and considers infractions. The courts, of course, will consider appeals based on various grounds and an agency's "legislating" powers are narrowly circumscribed by the limits of Congress's specifications. But any attempts to preserve the concept of absolute separation as applied to administrative agencies must rest on very fine distinctions. This is the field of administrative law, which recently has developed with the expansion of governmental services.

While for some time one of the popular pastimes has been to deliver shortsighted attacks on bureaucracy in general, only a few of these critics would care to give up the services which caused the creation and expansion of these agencies. Governmental services such as social security, conservation, supervision of drugs, foods, stocks and bonds, everything from AEC and MSA down to national parks necessitate administrative bodies. This does not mean that no criticism is justified for there are inefficiencies, over-staffing and a kind of "hardening of the arteries" to name only a few of the abuses

to which administrative agencies are subject. But a turn-back-the-clock attack upon bureaucracy in general should consider the broad consequences of such a policy. It would be better to recognize the possible danger of large, permanent administrative staffs becoming too isolated from popular, democratic control. Charles S. Hyneman takes this approach in his *Bureaucracy in a Democracy*.³⁵ The development of these administrative bodies is considered briefly in the introductory chapters of Kenneth C. Davis's *Administrative Law*³⁶ and Rinehart J. Swenson's *Federal Administrative Law*.³⁷ A critical examination of the theoretical basis of the public administration movement is offered by Dwight Waldo in *The Administrative State*.³⁸

The basic problem of administrative law is to obtain the order and efficiency desired to carry out these multifarious governmental services without sacrificing the individual freedom assured in less complex stages of our history by the separation of powers and the rule of law. Davis's book and James Hart's *An Introduction to Administrative Law*³⁹ also are excellent texts for this field.

The problems of personnel management and efficient conduct of these services are considered in the field of public administration. Important relevant books have been written by John M. Pfiffner,⁴⁰ Leonard D. White,⁴¹ Albert Lepawsky,⁴² and Herbert A. Simon and others.⁴³

American Government at the State and Local Level

While a knowledge of our national government is essential for good citizenship, the difficulty of remoteness precludes for most students the direct observation and participation which is most likely to arouse and sustain interest. This difficulty is more easily overcome by considering government on the state and local levels. Two texts by William Anderson and Edward W. Weidner, *State and Local Government*⁴⁴ and *American City Government*,⁴⁵ cover both the organization and functions of the lower levels of government. They also emphasize the role of local government in the democratic process. At the end of each chapter valuable suggestions are made for student projects, many of which are adaptable for high

school courses. More material on the administrative aspects of local government may be found in Harold Zink's *Government of Cities in the U. S.*,⁴⁶ Arthur W. Bromage's *Introduction to Municipal Government and Administration*,⁴⁷ and in Austin F. Macdonald's *American City Government and Administration*⁴⁸ and his *American State Government and Administration*.⁴⁹ Before leaving our consideration of local government we would like to call attention to another very readable little book called *Civic Victories*⁵⁰ in which Richard S. Childs reviews the fight for the short ballot and such other reforms as professional city managers, direct primaries and unicameral legislatures.

Political Parties and Their Operations

Permeating our governmental system from top level to bottom are the spirit and influence of parties. Except for a few offices on the local level and two state legislatures, political contests are partisan and even where party designation has been eliminated from the ballot this influence is still felt. Furthermore, no completely independent candidate has much chance for election, which raises again the "group basis of politics."

It is strange that in this land where the government of the people is by the people and for the people, the people very often look upon politics as a "dirty game." Far from a game, this vital process of discussion, compromise, conciliation, and reconciliation makes possible the continuation of our complex society under tolerable if not utopian conditions; and the spirit of compromise and change holds forth the hope of improvement. As for being dirty, the citizens' apathy is generally responsible.

While the pervasiveness of political parties makes it important to understand their structure and operations, this very ubiquity fortunately makes it easy to come in contact with them and to participate in their affairs to the extent that one has the inclination and his time will allow. Several suggestions along this line may be found in the Reed Report⁵¹ and *Goals for Political Science*.⁵²

Despite opposition from almost all of our country's founding fathers, political parties originated soon after our government was formed. The best single volume history of our parties is Wilfred E. Binkley's *American Political*

Parties.⁵³ As every school boy knows, we have in this country two major political parties—in effect a two-party system as compared to the multi-party system (in France or Norway) and the single party system (in the U.S.S.R., Spain, Yugoslavia, Nazi Germany or Fascist Italy). A good introduction to the study of our system of political parties can be made with E. E. Schattschneider's *Party Government*.⁵⁴ He advances two main causes of our two-party system. They are the "single member [from each] district system" of representation and the winner-take-all nature of the contest for the very important office of the Presidency, the focus of American politics. The first practically eliminates representation of a variety of minor parties which would be possible under a system of proportional representation. The second forces a coalescing of state groups for the national elections, for in reality the two major parties are more accurately described as federations of state organizations. The federative nature of the parties and the separation of powers in the national government operate to sap the discipline needed to carry out a party's program supposedly endorsed by the voters. A number of suggestions for overcoming the lack of party discipline and responsibility have been made in the American Political Science Association's report *Toward a More Responsible Two-Party System*.⁵⁵

Several writers have produced valuable texts about party organizations, finances and operations, electoral procedures, legal restrictions and campaign practices. Among these are Howard Penniman,⁵⁶ Dayton D. McKean,⁵⁷ Peter H. Odegard and E. Allen Helms,⁵⁸ and V. O. Key.⁵⁹ Key's *Southern Politics*⁶⁰ was recognized, even before last November, for its valuable insight into the rival factions behind the one-party facade in the "solid" South. Further light, unfiltered by the academic approach, has been thrown upon the inner workings of political parties in such books as Edward J. Flynn's *You're the Boss*,⁶¹ Robert Sherwood's *Roosevelt and Hopkins*⁶² and numerous, easily-located books of the same type.

The theoretical interest in political organizations and political behavior covers a wide range. Early works in this field were produced by Gaetano Mosca⁶³ and Robert Michels.⁶⁴

Mention should also be made of Merriam and Gosnell's study of *Non-Voting*,⁶⁵ made nearly 30 years ago. Anyone inclined to be unconcerned over the failure of a large part of the electorate to exercise their right to vote should look at Kirk Porter's history of the difficulties which had to be overcome by those who finally won that right for us.⁶⁶ Later studies of the psychology of political propaganda and political behavior were made by Lazarsfeld⁶⁷ and Lasswell,⁶⁸ among others. These examinations of the actions and reactions of the voters have shifted interest from formal party structures and governmental organization, as noted earlier, to other unofficial bodies, lobbyists and pressure groups. Pertinent to this are David B. Truman's *The Governmental Process*⁶⁹ and the above-mentioned *The Group Basis of Politics*.⁷⁰

Of course, lobbyists and pressure groups can be counteracted to some extent by public opinion, and the techniques for examining (though not creating) it have been popularized by such well known men as George Gallup and Elmo Roper. Not quite so valuable have been their efforts to predict elections. Lindsay Rogers has pointed out some other limitations and weaknesses of this field in *The Pollsters*.⁷¹

Comparative Government

Political scientists are interested in the comparative study of foreign governments for the light it may shed on ways of solving various political problems. Knowledge of other methods of organizing society and proper interpretation of their consequences will further the development of a science of politics and will enable us to find better methods or at least to avoid poorer ones here at home. Also, Americans can pursue a wiser foreign policy if they understand the structural or constitutional framework of other governments and the political, social and economic forces at work in their respective countries.

No single volume other than a handbook for reference use, such as *The Statesman's Yearbook*,⁷² could include more than the barest factual material on all the various governments in the world. Consequently authors of general texts in the field of comparative government choose a few representative types and concentrate upon the powers which are most important in the international affairs of the United

States. Thus, most attention is given to the United Kingdom, France, Germany and the U.S.S.R. with less, and sometimes not any, consideration given to Scandinavia, Latin America, and practically all of Asia. There are, however, individual specialized volumes about these areas.⁷³

Typical of general texts are Frederic A. Ogg and Harold Zink's *Modern Foreign Governments*⁷⁴ and *Foreign Governments, the Dynamics of Politics Abroad*, edited by Fritz Morstein Marx.⁷⁵ James A. Corry has surveyed the governments of the United States, Great Britain and Canada for their common features of democracy in his *Elements of Democratic Government*.⁷⁶ Carl Friedrich's more theoretical study, *Constitutional Government and Democracy*,⁷⁷ traces the strain of constitutionalism and analyzes this factor for its possibility of preserving freedom. A broader and deeper consideration of the theories underlying various governments is made by Herman Finer in his *Theory and Practice of Modern Government*.⁷⁸ He gives a critical analysis of both democratic and totalitarian governments.

For further study of Fascism and Nazism there are G. A. Borgese's *Goliath*,⁷⁹ Ignatius Silone's *School for Dictators*⁸⁰ and Franz Neumann's *Behemoth*.⁸¹

About the U.S.S.R. and Russian Communism there is a tremendous amount of material ranging all the way from the writings of Lenin and Stalin to U. S. government documents. Three books useful as middle-of-the-road approaches for beginning the study of this field are: *The Government of the Soviet Union* by Samuel N. Harper and Ronald Thompson,⁸² *Russia in Flux* by Sir John Maynard⁸³ and *Soviet Politics—The Dilemma of Power* by Barrington Moore, Jr.⁸⁴ The first is confined mainly to the structure of the government. The second consists of several essays about social, economic and political developments in the U.S.S.R. The approach is generally tolerant. Moore's book represents a more "realistic" examination of the problems of carrying out so basic and extensive a revolution. Useful bibliographies are contained in the books by Harper and Thompson and by Moore.

A look into the card catalog of any library will confirm the statement that there is an

abundance of material, general and particular, academic and journalistic, on international relations, foreign affairs, foreign policy and related subjects. Public and academic interest in the international field was greatly stimulated by the first World War. The impact of the second was proportionately greater.⁸⁵

Foreign Affairs

Formerly the customary emphasis was upon diplomatic maneuvering. For those who want to brush up on the background there are two excellent histories of American foreign policy available. Samuel F. Bemis has written a survey, with interpretive criticisms, of U. S. diplomacy.⁸⁶ Thomas A. Bailey's book⁸⁷ is rather more sympathetic and stresses the influence of public opinion. It contains a helpful glossary and bibliography. Also there are numerous books dealing with relations between the U. S. and individual foreign countries. Very useful is the series of the American Foreign Policy Library.⁸⁸ The International Studies Group of the Brookings Institution annually publishes a volume on the *Major Problems of U. S. Foreign Policy*.⁸⁹ This includes a survey of the current position of the United States in world affairs and examines specific problems in view of the entire field of international relations. Naturally, the immediacy of its writing is a handicap to any historical evaluations; but its approach resembles that which must be taken by the men in the State Department who actually create our policy. For the mechanical side of this process read James L. McCamy's *The Administration of American Foreign Affairs*.⁹⁰ This tells how policy is made, not what it was or should be.

Two books representative of the power politics school are those by Hans J. Morgenthau⁹¹ and Robert Strausz-Hupé and Stefan Possony.⁹² This rather pessimistic approach while avoiding mistakes deriving from unwarranted faith and trust appears to lead us to the old balance of power without a third force to redress the balance in a dynamic situation.

A different approach, though not without some pessimism, is taken by Frederick S. Dunn in *War and the Minds of Men*.⁹³ He wishes to place more emphasis upon relations between peoples rather than between states; but he recognizes the enormity of mechanical difficul-

ties and government restrictions which stand in the way of communicating.

International law represents a field of endeavor, so far conspicuously ineffective, to restrict the sovereignty of states. A relatively painless initiation to this rather esoteric subject is offered by J. L. Brierly's *The Law of Nations: an Introduction to the International Law of Peace*.⁹⁴

Efforts to place more formal, more extensive and, it is hoped, more substantial curbs on clashing sovereign states have been made by establishing international organizations. A study, more analytical than historical, of this movement has been made by Pitman B. Potter.⁹⁵ Werner Levi sets forth some of the obstacles which will have to be overcome before a sense of community of interests essential to the success of an international organization can arise.⁹⁶ He suggests cooperation along economic, social and cultural lines to prepare the way for political arrangements.

Of course, there is already in existence the United Nations, an international organization created through the concession of at least a degree of sovereignty by its member states and currently attempting to maintain world order at the sacrifice of more than a little of material goods and human lives. Herbert Evatt, closely associated with the United Nations since its creation, has given a brief but valuable picture of its formation and operations.⁹⁷ A more extensive survey is that of Amry Vandenbosch and Willard N. Hogan.⁹⁸ There are many other studies of the United Nations and suggestions for its modification. The organization itself publishes numerous books, pamphlets and periodicals. A useful reference source is *Everyman's United Nations: A Ready Reference to the Structure, Functions, and Work of the United Nations and Its Related Agencies*.⁹⁹

Political Theory

There are two ways to approach the field of political theory. One is to examine the systematic treatment of political relations. The other, usually rather philosophic than scientific, is to consider the ends of the state, or political society—or more specifically what various people have thought about those ends.

The former we have touched upon above in

connection with the introductory remarks about political science (see MacIver's *Web of Government* and Merriam's *Systematic Politics*), with American government and with comparative government (see Finer's *Theory and Practice of Modern Government* and Friedrich's *Constitutional Government and Democracy*).

The best one volume history of political thought is George H. Sabine's *History of Political Theory*.¹⁰⁰ Charles H. McIlwain in *The Growth of Political Thought in the West*¹⁰¹ gives a critical analysis of the material up to the end of the Middle Ages and shows the development of new concepts of individualism, human dignity, separation of church and state, sovereignty, and representative government. Francis W. Coker's *Recent Political Thought*¹⁰² provides a somewhat critical survey of the late nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Delisle Burns¹⁰³ reviews the development of the various ideals which comprise western liberalism. Frederick Watkins, in his *Political Tradition of the West*,¹⁰⁴ argues that liberal democracy offers the only alternative to totalitarianism and urges that our political system to survive must find outside forces of public opinion to balance the power of the government. In *States and Morals* T. D. Weldon¹⁰⁵ suggests that the aim of political philosophy should be to understand the relation of the state to the individual. He analyzes and compares the abstract theories of the state, the organic and the mechanistic, as represented by Russian communism and American and British democracy respectively. Weldon doubts the success of any attempt to export democracy to peoples lacking the necessary basic moral outlook (in essence, respect for human beings) and suggests it would be better to exhibit the superiority of democracy in the way we practice it at home.

Trends in Political Science

We already have referred to *Goals for Political Science* which will aid anyone to acquire a picture of current trends in the various fields of political science. The Reed Report likewise will prove valuable for information about courses in American government and preparation for citizenship. A more general survey of political science can be found in UNESCO's publication *Contemporary Political Science*,¹⁰⁶

which contains 52 articles by political scientists from some 20 countries.

Also useful are various journals and periodicals. The *American Political Science Review*¹⁰⁷ covers all fields and includes valuable quarterly bibliographies of current literature, books and articles, both domestic and foreign. *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*¹⁰⁸ is published bimonthly and each issue, consisting of numerous articles, is devoted to a particular subject, more or less related to political science. Other periodicals are the *Political Science Quarterly*¹⁰⁹ and *Journal of Politics*.¹¹⁰ In the international field there are *Foreign Affairs*,¹¹¹ *Foreign Policy Bulletin*,¹¹² and *World Politics*.¹¹³

For reference, of course, there are numerous articles with valuable bibliographies in the *Encyclopaedia of Social Sciences*.¹¹⁴ For concise definitions and brief notes one may consult *White's Political Dictionary*¹¹⁵ or, for the American field, Edward C. Smith and Arnold J. Zurcher's *New Dictionary of American Politics*.¹¹⁶ and Edwin V. Mitchell's *Encyclopedia of American Politics*.¹¹⁷ Several annuals are valuable sources of reference. *The Statesman's Yearbook*¹¹⁸ contains concise facts, not only political, about various countries of the world. For our national government there is the *U. S. Government Organization Manual*.¹¹⁹ The *Book of States*¹²⁰ contains information about the activities, structure, organization and personnel of the 48 state governments. Similar for the local level is *The Municipal Yearbook*.¹²¹

The present writers know that high school social studies teachers are busy people. They do not expect that any teacher is going to read all, or even a major portion of the books they have cited. They do, however, have two aims: first, to reveal the complexity and diversity of the field; second, to suggest where the busy teacher can dip into the field of Political Science, and what his occasional reading may yield in terms of understanding and insight.

¹ Report of the Committee for the Advancement of Teaching, American Political Science Association (New York: William Sloane Associates, Inc., 1951).

² Thomas H. Reed and Doris D. Reed, *Preparing College Men and Women for Politics* (New York: Citizenship Clearing House, New York University, 1952).

³ *Political Institutions* (New York: D. Appleton-Century Co., 1938).

⁴ Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1926.

⁵ *The State as a Concept of Political Science* (New York and London: Harper & Bros., 1934).

⁶ *The Foundations of Sovereignty and Other Essays* (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Co., 1921); *Studies in the Problem of Sovereignty* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1924); *The State in Theory and Practice* (London: George Allen and Unwin, Ltd., 1935); *A Grammar of Politics* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1939).

⁷ Alfred De Grazia, *The Elements of Political Science* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, Inc., 1952); Ossip K. Flechtheim, ed., *Fundamentals of Political Science* (New York: Ronald Press Co., 1952).

⁸ New York: Macmillan Co., 1947.

⁹ Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1945.

¹⁰ Frederic A. Ogg and P. Orman Ray, *Introduction to American Government* (New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, 10th ed., 1951).

¹¹ New York: Henry Holt, 3rd ed., 1946.

¹² Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1950.

¹³ Max Beloff, ed. (Oxford: B. Blackwell, 1948).

¹⁴ 2 vols., New York: Alfred A. Knopf, Inc., 1945.

¹⁵ New York: Macmillan Co., 1919.

¹⁶ New York: Harcourt, Brace and Co., 1939.

¹⁷ New York: Harper & Bros., 1943.

¹⁸ New York: Ronald Press Co., 1940.

¹⁹ New Haven: Yale University Press, 1941.

²⁰ New York: Alfred A. Knopf, Inc., 1946.

²¹ New York: Oxford University Press, 1st American ed., 1947.

²² New York: New York University Press, 3rd ed., rev., 1948.

²³ *The Growth of American Constitutional Law* (New York: Reynal Hitchcock, 1942).

²⁴ *American Constitutional Development* (New York: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1943).

²⁵ Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1947.

²⁶ New York: Alfred A. Knopf, Inc., 1941.

²⁷ New York: Macmillan Co., 1948.

²⁸ 2 vols., Cambridge: The Riverside Press, 1929.

²⁹ Manassas, Va.: National Capitol Publishers, Inc., 1949.

³⁰ New York: Columbia University Press, 1950.

³¹ Earl Latham (Ithaca, N. Y.: Cornell University Press, 1952).

³² Stephen K. Bailey and Howard D. Samuel (New York: Henry Holt, 1952).

³³ New York: Duell, Sloan and Pearce, 1947.

³⁴ New York: Ronald Press Co., 1948.

³⁵ New York: Harper & Bros., 1950.

³⁶ St. Paul, Minn.: West Publishing Co., 1951.

³⁷ New York: Ronald Press Co., 1952.

³⁸ New York: Ronald Press Co., 1948.

³⁹ New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, 2nd ed., 1950.

⁴⁰ *Public Administration* (New York: Ronald Press Co., rev. ed., 1946).

⁴¹ *Introduction to the Study of Public Administration* (New York: Macmillan Co., 3rd ed., 1950).

⁴² *Administration* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, Inc., 1949).

⁴³ *Public Administration* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, Inc., 1950).

⁴⁴ New York: Henry Holt, 1951.

⁴⁵ New York: Henry Holt, rev. ed., 1950.

⁴⁶ New York: Macmillan Co., rev. ed., 1949.

⁴⁷ New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, 1950.

⁴⁸ New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Co., 4th ed., 1946.

⁴⁹ New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Co., 4th ed., 1950.

⁵⁰ New York: Harper & Bros., 1952.

⁵¹ See note 2 above.

⁵² See note 1 above.

⁵³ New York: Alfred A. Knopf, Inc., 2nd ed., 1947.

⁵⁴ New York: Farrar and Rinehart, Inc., 1942.

⁵⁵ Report of the Committee on Political Parties, American Political Science Association (New York: Rinehart and Co., 1950).

⁵⁶ *Sail's American Parties and Elections* (New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, 5th ed., 1952).

⁵⁷ *Party and Pressure Politics* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1949).

⁵⁸ *American Politics, a Study in Political Dynamics* (New York: Harper & Bros., 2nd ed., 1947).

⁵⁹ *Politics, Parties and Pressure Groups* (New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Co., 1947).

⁶⁰ New York: Alfred A. Knopf, Inc., 1949.

⁶¹ New York: Viking Press, 1947.

⁶² New York: Harper & Bros., rev. ed., 1950.

⁶³ *The Ruling Class* (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1939).

⁶⁴ *Political Parties; A Sociological Study of the Oligarchical Tendencies of Modern Democracy* (New York: Hearst's International Library Co., 1915).

⁶⁵ Charles E. Merriam and Harold F. Gosnell (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1924).

⁶⁶ *A History of Suffrage in the U. S.* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1918).

⁶⁷ Paul F. Lazarsfeld and others, *The People's Choice; How the Voter Makes Up His Mind in a Political Campaign* (New York: Duell, Sloan and Pearce, 1944).

⁶⁸ Harold D. Lasswell, *The Analysis of Political Behavior* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, Ltd., 1948); *Politics; Who Gets What, When and How* (New York: Whittlesey House, McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1936).

⁶⁹ New York: Alfred A. Knopf, Inc., 1951.

⁷⁰ See note 31 above.

⁷¹ New York: Alfred A. Knopf, Inc., 1949.

⁷² S. H. Steinberg, ed. (New York: Macmillan Co., annual publication).

⁷³ E.g., Austin F. Macdonald, *Latin American Politics and Government* (New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Co., 1949); Asher N. Christensen, ed., *The Evolution of Latin American Government*, a collection of readings (New York: Henry Holt, 1951); Lennox A. Mills and associates, *The New World of Southeast Asia* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1949). The United Nations has published several volumes about individual countries. See also note 88 below for the American Foreign Policy Library's series.

⁷⁴ New York: Macmillan Co., 1949.

⁷⁵ New York: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1949.

⁷⁶ New York: Oxford University Press, 1st American ed., 1947. In the second edition the material on Canada has been replaced largely by material on U.S.S.R.

⁷⁷ Boston: Ginn and Co., rev. ed., 1950.

⁷⁸ New York: Henry Holt, rev. ed., 1949.

⁷⁹ New York: Viking Press, 1938.

⁸⁰ New York: Harper & Bros., 1938.

⁸¹ New York: Oxford University Press, 2nd ed., 1944.

⁸² New York: D. Van Nostrand Co., Inc., 2nd ed., 1949.

⁸³ New York: Macmillan Co., 1948.

⁸⁴ Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1950.

⁸⁵ For extensive listings of organizations—governmental, educational, and private—interested in foreign affairs, see *American Agencies Interested in International Affairs* compiled by Ruth Savord (New York: Council on Foreign Relations, rev. ed., 1948) and *The Study of International Relations in the U. S.* by Edith E. Ware (New York: Columbia University Press, 1938).

⁸⁶ *A Diplomatic History of the U. S.* (New York: Henry Holt, 3rd ed., 1950).

⁸⁷ *A Diplomatic History of the American People* (New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, 4th ed., 1950).

⁸⁸ Under the editorship of Sumner Welles the following have been published to date: C. Crane Brinton, *U. S. and Britain*, 1945; Vera M. Dean, *U. S. and*

Russia, 1947; John K. Fairbank, *U. S. and China*, 1948; D. C. McKay, *U. S. and France*, 1951; D. Perkins, *U. S. and the Caribbean*, 1947; E. O. Reischauer, *U. S. and Japan*, 1950; Franklin D. Scott, *U. S. and Scandinavia*, 1950; Ephraim A. Speiser, *U. S. and the Near East*, 1947; L. V. Thomas and R. N. Frye, *U. S. and Turkey and Iran*, 1951; Arthur P. Whitaker, *U. S. and South America, the Northern Republics*, 1948; all published at Cambridge by Harvard University Press.

⁸⁹ Washington, D. C.: Brookings Institution.

⁹⁰ New York: Alfred A. Knopf, Inc., 1950.

⁹¹ *Politics Among Nations* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, Inc., 1948).

⁹² *International Relations in the Age of the Conflict Between Democracy and Dictatorship* (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1950).

⁹³ New York: Published for the Council on Foreign Relations by Harper & Bros., 1950.

⁹⁴ London: Oxford University Press, 4th ed., 1949.

⁹⁵ *An Introduction to the Study of International Organization* (New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, 5th ed., 1948).

⁹⁶ *Fundamentals of World Organization* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1950).

⁹⁷ *The United Nations* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1948).

⁹⁸ *The United Nations; Background, Organization, Functions, Activities* (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1952).

⁹⁹ New York: Department of Public Information, United Nations distributed by the Columbia University Press, 3rd ed., 1952.

¹⁰⁰ New York: Henry Holt, rev. ed., 1950.

¹⁰¹ New York: Macmillan Co., 1932.

¹⁰² New York: D. Appleton-Century Co., 1934.

¹⁰³ *Political Ideals* (London: Oxford University Press, 4th ed., 1929).

¹⁰⁴ Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1948.

¹⁰⁵ New York: Whittlesey House, McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1947.

¹⁰⁶ Paris: UNESCO, 1950.

¹⁰⁷ Published quarterly by the American Political Science Association.

¹⁰⁸ Published by American Academy of Political and Social Science.

¹⁰⁹ Edited for the Academy of Political Science by the Faculty of Political Science of Columbia University.

¹¹⁰ Published quarterly by the Southern Political Science Association.

¹¹¹ Published quarterly by the Council on Foreign Relations.

¹¹² Published by Foreign Policy Association.

¹¹³ Published quarterly by Princeton University Press, Princeton, N. J.

¹¹⁴ Edwin R. A. Seligman, ed., 15 vols. (New York: Macmillan Co., 1930-1938).

¹¹⁵ Wilbur W. White (Cleveland and New York: The World Publishing Co., 1947).

¹¹⁶ New York: Barnes and Noble, 1949.

¹¹⁷ Garden City, N. Y.: Doubleday and Co., 1946.

¹¹⁸ See note 72.

¹¹⁹ Published by Federal Register Division, National Archives and Records Service, General Services Administration, Washington, D. C., Government Printing Office.

¹²⁰ Published biennially by the Council of State Governments, Chicago.

¹²¹ Clarence E. Ridley and Orin F. Nolting (Chicago: The International City Manager's Association), published annually.

The Teachers' Page

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HOW TO EVALUATE AUTHORITIES¹

Seeing Is Not Always Believing

When a little boy of five says to his doubting playmate: "My father said so," he is using what is to a small child a very important authority. Later, when as a student in school, he says: "My teacher said so," or, "It said so in my textbook," he is using two other kinds of authorities. Still later in life, as a young man or as an adult, he may discard his father, teacher and textbooks as ultimate authorities and seek the assurance of even more reliable experts.

During all of his lifetime, a person faces the necessity of believing or disbelieving, accepting or rejecting the statements, beliefs,

opinions, and admonitions of people in varying degrees of authority. A great deal of what the individual must believe, whether it is an historical fact, a scientific finding, or a personal observation, has to be accepted on faith—faith in the accuracy of scientific observation and the integrity of other people.

A few hundred years ago people accepted as fact that the earth was flat. To support that fact people needed only to cite the authority of Aristotle. But, sometimes, as we know, even great authorities may be wrong. When, then, is a fact a fact and who is the ultimate authority? Can we rely purely on sensory perception as the only basis of fact? "Seeing is believing" is true in many cases, but not in all. A person's vision may be impaired because of organic or functional causes. The same holds true for the degree of accuracy with respect to the other sense organs. Furthermore, we know (and here

¹ This is the second of a series of articles on social studies skills, portions of which will appear in the forthcoming Yearbook (on the same subject) of the National Council of Social Studies.

we rely partly upon the integrity and powers of scientific observation of other people) from psychological studies and from research in physics, chemistry and astronomy that the human sense organs are limited in their capacity to "take in" all of the stimuli that are present in our physical environment. Even the dog, as we have been told, can hear sounds that the human ear is not capable of hearing.

Criteria for Evaluation of Authorities

Even if the student could verify through his own powers of observation all that he has to believe or disbelieve, it would be highly undesirable for him to do so because of the limitation of time. It is apparent, therefore, as stated, that it is necessary for the student to rely on the authoritative statements of other people in accepting or rejecting variously proposed facts and opinions. Unfortunately, just as propaganda can be misused to befog and confuse, with the view of controlling peoples' thinking and actions, so can the indiscriminate reliance on authorities.

There are two aspects to the problem of evaluating authorities: 1) An acceptable definition of an authority; 2) A series of criteria with respect to the integrity and achievements of the authority.

Authority defined: A person (or organization) who (or which) has devoted a considerable portion of time to a particular area of study, as a result of which the person (or the organization) is recognized and accepted as an expert in that area by other persons and organizations in the same or related fields.

Criteria

1. Is the authority free from bias and prejudice?
2. Is he independent in his thinking?
3. Is he speaking or writing on the subject on which he is a recognized authority or on a subject outside his own field?
4. Is he employed by a reputable organization?
5. With what institutions is he affiliated?
6. What has been his past record? What has he said or accomplished that is related to the subject under consideration?

Criteria for Evaluating Sources of Information

Another aspect to evaluating authorities concerns the reliability of information that

may be obtained from different sources, such as public documents, newspaper accounts, radio addresses, encyclopedias, personal diaries, minutes of meetings, eye witness accounts, letters, autobiographies, historical novels, personal interviews, popular films, especially prepared educational films, and records of private and public agencies. The following are a few of the criteria or guides to reliability that the student might use:

1. With what purpose in mind was the material prepared?
2. Under what circumstances was the information recorded?
3. Was the information written or recorded from memory or was it a direct account of what happened?
4. Was the person recording the information reliable with respect to ability and motives?
5. Is there corroboration of the facts from other sources?
6. To what extent is the information distorted or colored for purposes of making an amusing or interesting story?
7. Is the source of information original or a secondary account?

Suggested Activities and Projects for Recognizing Propaganda and Evaluating Authorities

1. Reaction to emotionally charged words.
 - a. Have students perform the exercise described below.

Words are symbols that represent persons, objects or ideas. Some words are more emotionally charged than other. For example, the words "snake" or "rat" may call forth in some people strong feelings of disgust, whereas the words "flowers" or "bride" may arouse strong feelings of pleasure. Sometimes the same words may evoke different or even opposite feelings in different persons, as for example the word "bride," to a young girl about to be married, and to a woman who perhaps has had a bitter disappointment as a prospective bride. One's reaction to words is, therefore, a product of one's own experience with what the word represents.

Below is a list of words. Look at each one for a few seconds and indicate in the appropriate column if your reaction is pleasant (P), unpleasant (U), or if you have no reaction (N).

P = Pleasant

U = Unpleasant

N = No emotional reaction

	P	U	N
mother			
running errands			
family			
movies			
liberty			
reading			
sickness			
brother			
traffic lights			
father			
success			
love			
truth			
Nazi			
wife			
little children			
marriage			
foreigners			
old people			
in-laws			
boys			
suffering			
freedom			
vile			
divorce			
policeman			
strangers			
death			
grandfather			
desertion			
homework			
girls			
grandmother			
teachers			
kissing			
war			
school			
work			
dancing			
pain			
stealing			
honor			
death			
justice			
democracy			

b. Follow with a discussion noting similarities and variations in student responses.

2. Popular and technical definitions.

a. Have students prepare the following chart:

Word or phrase	[A] Popular definition as taken from newspapers, magazines, popular talk
	[B] Dictionary or textbook definition

Conservative

communist

fellow-traveler

"red"

socialized medicine

leftist

reactionary

welfare state

(other words may be added)

b. Follow with discussion.

3. Propaganda in Comic Strips and Cartoons.

a. Have students bring in samples of comic strips and cartoons.

b. Have them indicate the nature of the propaganda (economic, political, religious).

c. Evaluate propaganda in terms of the American ideals.

4. Propaganda Analysis.

a. Select paragraphs from

(1) political speeches

(2) editorials

(3) news columnists

(4) newspaper and magazine articles

(5) textbooks

b. Write down the words that appeal to the emotions.

c. Note the statements that are purely factual.

d. Note the statements that are purely opinions.

e. Rewrite the paragraph, eliminating the words that appeal to the emotions, and presenting the opinions as opinions.

5. Sampling Propaganda

Have students cite samples of propaganda (with illustrations) from:

a. Advertising from newspapers, maga-

- zines, billboards, radio and television.
- b. Newspaper articles, editorials, news columnists.
 - c. Magazines
 - d. Radio and television programs.
6. Checking on Authorities — Persons
 - a. Select several controversial topics like:
 1. Socialized medicine.
 2. A phase of labor-management relations. (Taft-Hartley Act, or strikes).
 3. Limitation on taxation.
 4. Limitations on income.
 5. Unicameral legislatures.
 6. Capital punishment.
 7. Euthenasia.
 - b. Invite speakers to address the class.
 - c. Assign pupils to
 1. Read different authorities on the topic (use Reader's Guide).
 2. Interview "interested persons."
 - d. Make a chart showing arguments for and against.
 7. Comparing original and secondary sources of information.
 - a. Have students read and compare the account of Congressional action on a given bill or an important hearing in a newspaper and the *Congressional Record*.
 - b. Have students read and contrast a biography and autobiography of the same person.
 - c. Have students visit an historical museum (if available) and compare what is observed with information obtained in a textbook.
 - d. Have students observe an event like a national political convention, a legislative body in action, an important meeting, and compare what was observed with an account of the same event reported in the newspaper or on the radio.
 8. An exercise in differentiating facts from opinions.

Directions: Write the letter *F* in front of each statement if you think it represents a fact; write the letter *O* if the statement represents an opinion.

 - ...1. Franklin D. Roosevelt was the greatest president since Lincoln.
 - ...2. Socialists believe in government ownership of industry.
 - ...3. The national debt at the end of World War II was over 250 billion dollars.
 - ...4. The United States is on the road to socialism.
 - ...5. Public relief encourages laziness.
 - ...6. People are less happy today than before the industrial revolution.
 - ...7. Strikes generally result in loss of wages.
 - ...8. An increase in the national debt to 300 billion dollars will jeopardize American economic stability.
 - ...9. Strikes are undemocratic.
 - ...10. Socialized medicine will improve the health of the people of this country.
 - ...11. Germany and France have been traditional enemies since 1870.
 - ...12. American Foreign Policy is hostile to Communism.
 - ...13. Women are more emotional than men.
 - ...14. Socialized medicine will destroy individual initiative in the physician.
 - ...16. American diplomats are inferior to British diplomats.
 - ...16. England is a limited monarchy.
 - ...17. Our foreign policy is waging a successful battle against Communism.
 - ...18. Honesty is the best policy.
 - ...19. The population of the world is increasing.
 - ...20. Gold is more valuable than silver.

Visual and Other Aids

IRWIN A. ECKHAUSER

Washington Junior High School, Mt. Vernon, New York

The U. S. Government publications noted below may be obtained from the Supt. of Documents, U. S. Government Printing Office, Washington 25, D. C. Orders should be accompanied

by payment in cash, check, or money order.

The United States Constitution, Text with Analytical Index, Unratified Amendments.

Presents the text of the Constitution, Amendments to the Constitution, proposed amendments not yet ratified, and an index to the Constitution. 1953. 62 pages. Catalog No. 83:1, Doc. 211., 20 cents.

Where to Go for U. N. Information.

Presents official sources of information, voluntary organizations, information centers, publications, speakers, radio and television, and visual aids, such as motion pictures, and film strips, exhibits, charts, pictures, and flags. Revised 1953. 39 pages, Catalog No. S 1-70/3:92. 15 cents.

FILMS

Your Money Is What You Make It. 36 minutes.

Color. Free. National Assoc. of Manufacturers, 444 Madison Ave., New York 22, N. Y.

Traces major economic developments since 1939 which are supposed to have thrown our economic system out of balance and reduced the value of money.

Law of Supply and Demand. 10 minutes. Color, or B & W. Coronet Films, Coronet Building, Chicago, Ill.

Tim, in the bicycle-rental business, shows students how the law of supply and demand affects business.

Opportunity U. S. A. 27 minutes. Free. Modern Picture (Talking) Service, Inc., 45 Rockefeller Plaza, New York 20, N. Y.

Shows the world of savings investments, operations of investment banks, and effects of investment savings on corporations and individuals.

Future of One Million Africans. 21 minutes.

British Information Services, 30 Rockefeller Plaza, New York, N. Y.

Depicts whether the peoples living in the three protectorates of Bechuanaland, Basutoland, and Swaziland in South Africa, should remain under British protection or be transferred to South Africa.

Life in The Sahara. 14 minutes. Color. Sale or rental. Encyclopaedia Britannica Films, Wilmette, Ill.

Shows the life, habits, customs, of the people living in the desert.

Hindu Family. 10 minutes. Sale, rental. Encyclopaedia Brit. Films.

Discusses the social and economic factors that influence development and status of a village headman's family in the province of Gujarat. Prepared by Indian film producers from an American script.

English Farm Family. 13 minutes. Sale, rental. McGraw Hill Book Co., Text-Film Dept., 330 W. 42 St., New York 36, N. Y.

Reveals revolution in agriculture in Britain as seen on a visit to a "new" farmer. Shows the daily life of a family and related workers.

Europe at Your Window. 27 minutes. Color. Sale, rental. Films of the Nations, 612 W. 45 St., New York 36, N. Y.

Starts in Sweden, goes through Denmark and Germany to Holland. From there through Belgium to France; then Switzerland and through Italy to Rome.

American Harvest. 29 minutes. Color. Free. General Motors Corp., Film Section, 3044 W. Grand Blvd., Detroit 2, Mich.

This is a documentary film on natural resources, factories, people of America.

Ballad of The West. 14 minutes. Sale, rental. Encyclopaedia Britannica Films.

This is the story of two cowboy drifters who settled down, and began life anew.

Geography of Australia. 11 minutes. Sale. Young America Films, Inc., 18 E. 41 St., New York 17, N. Y.

Shows general view of Australia.

Sheep Ranch Country. 20 minutes. Sale or rent. Educ. Film Dept., United World Films, 1445 Park Ave., New York 29, N. Y.

Depicts life and customs of people who aid in the making of one of Australia's great industries.

Australia Today. 35 minutes. Sale or rent. Australia News and Information Bureau, 636 Fifth Ave., New York 20, N. Y.

A panoramic sweep of the cities and resorts, mountains and beaches, deserts and pastures of modern Australia.

FILMSTRIPS

Approach from The East. 36 frames. Captions. National Film Board of Canada, 1270 Ave. of the Americas, New York 20, N. Y.

Early exploration of North America, with special reference to Canada.

Approach from The West. 36 frames. Captions. Manual. Natl. Film Board of Canada.

Tells of the explorations of the west coast of Canada by Francis Drake, Captain Cook, Capt. Vancouver, and others.

Protestant Reformation. 40 frames. Life Filmstrips, 9 Rockefeller Plaza, New York, N. Y.

Shows paintings, woodcuts, engravings, illustrated manuscripts, and early editions of printed books telling causes, effects, and development of the Reformation in relation to concurrent phenomena of the age.

Seeds of Knowledge. 44 frames. Sound. Sale. McGraw Hill Book Co.

An account of the U. N. program of teaching the purposes, structure, and activities of the U. N. in schools, of member states; and preparation and distribution of basic educational material.

CHARTS

Magna Charta. A facsimile, 22" x 15", of the original and the translation, suitable for framing. 90 cents, British Information Services, 30 Rockefeller Plaza, New York, N. Y.

News and Comment

R. T. SOLIS-COHEN

Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

Interracial Attitudes

Harry W. Roberts, Head of the Department of Sociology, Virginia State College, is the author of two articles concerned with the attitudes of Negro servicemen toward whites. The first article, "Prior Service Attitudes Toward Whites of 219 Negro Veterans," was published in *The Journal of Negro Education* (Fall, 1953). Using the personal document method, combined with a set of questions as a guide, the author attempts to find out the attitude of Negroes toward whites before they entered the service and the experiences or causes that developed their attitude.

He concludes that the attitudes of Negro youth toward whites depends upon whether they had spent their lives primarily in the Northern or Southern section of the United States and upon the amount and kind of their interracial experiences. Where Negro youth were in close physical contacts with whites and social intercourse was reciprocal, intimate and mutual they had a friendly attitude toward whites. Where these conditions were lacking, Negro attitudes were unfriendly.

The second article, "The Impact of Military Service Upon the Racial Attitudes of Negro Servicemen in World War II," was published in *Social Problems* (Oct., 1953). In it the writer sought to find out what effect military

service experience had upon the Negro soldier's former attitude toward white people and what specific experiences caused this effect.

He concluded that when Negro servicemen serve side by side with white servicemen on a plane of equality and have intimate and reciprocal relations with them and with civilian whites, their originally friendly attitudes were strengthened and originally hostile attitudes were intensified.

Dr. Marguerite Cartwright, an instructor at Hunter College, contributed an interesting critique on the Chinese stereotype (in *The Journal of Negro Education*, Fall, 1953). She points out that instead of emphasizing the similarities between Chinese and American cultures, some elementary social studies programs stress their differences. She also notes emphasis on Chinese superstitions and upon regarding American children of Chinese ancestry as non-American even though they are native-born United States citizens. In addition the Chinese are often unrealistically romanticized. All these items are unhealthy intercultural.

Dr. Cartwright, according to the *New York Times*, Sunday, December 20, 1953, has just received a one-year study award from the Fund for Adult Education. She plans to study the human relations programs in Chicago, Detroit,

Los Angeles and New York, concentrating on problems of minority groups.

Pittsburgh's Negro Troops in the Civil War

George L. Davies in *The Western Pennsylvania Historical Magazine* (June, 1953) tells of the efforts of the free Negroes in Pittsburgh since the 1830's to educate themselves. He recalls the Negroes' response to the call for volunteers in 1861, quoting a letter from the colored Hannibal Guards to General Negley on April 17, 1861:

To Brigadier General J. S. Negley.

Com.—Sir:

As we sympathize with our white fellow-citizens at the present crisis, and to show that we can and do feel interested in the present state of affairs; and as we consider ourselves American citizens and interested in the Commonwealth of all our white fellow-citizens, although deprived of all political rights, we yet wish the government of the United States to be sustained against the tyranny of slavery; and are willing to assist in any honorable way or manner to sustain the present Administration. We therefore tender to the state the services of the Hannibal Guards.

Yours, etc.

Capt. Samuel Sanders

1st Lieut. R. D. Rurley; Lieut. G. W. Massey.
P.S. If accepted, sir, we can raise a full company.

The colored Guards were admitted to serve on the side of the Union Army in July 18, 1861. The colored population contributed hand weapons and clothes for use in the war.

The author mentions the exploits of the Pittsburgh Negroes in the Fifty-fourth and Fifty-fifth Regiments in 1863.

At first the Negro soldiers did not receive the regular soldier's wages of thirteen dollars a month.

"As many times as the Federal Government offered those of the Fifty-fourth and Fifty-fifth regiments ten dollars each per month, this meager pay was as many times refused. . . . Finally in September, 1864,

they received their first pay by the government. They received thirteen dollars for each month's service from their first enlistment."

The valor of the Negro soldier in the Civil War was attested by Major General Benjamin F. Butler who stated:

"The colored soldiers by coolness, steadiness, and determined courage and dash, have silenced every cavil of the doubters of their soldierly capacity, and drawn tokens of admiration from their enemies."

Pennsylvania was interested "in the assimilation of Negroes as soldiers." Philadelphia led the way in arming Negro residents for the Union's defense. Unfortunately, Pittsburgh did not preserve complete records of the contributions of her Negro soldiers, although some records still exist.

France in the United States Monthly

Formerly called "France in New York Monthly," this booklet is published by the French Embassy Cultural Division (972 Fifth Avenue, New York 21, N. Y.) It contains notices of the work of representative French artists in the Museums and Galleries of New York City, and other cities throughout the country such as Washington, D. C., Baltimore, Beverly Hills, Calif., Bloomington, Ind., Boston, Chattanooga, Tenn., etc. The name and address of the Museum and a brief annotated account of the French works of art it exhibits are noted for ready reference.

The *Monthly* also lists lectures about French culture, giving the address of their sponsoring institution, the time when given, and the name of each lecturer.

Other sections of the *Monthly* deal with French musicians—bands and choirs—touring the United States, plays translated from the French which are being currently presented in New York theatres, French films that are being shown throughout the United States and an annotated list of books and periodicals which have been recently received from France and which are available to the public in the reading room of the Cultural Services Library.

Book Reviews and Book Notes

DAVID W. HARR

Head, Department of Social Studies, Abraham Lincoln High School, Philadelphia

An Introduction to Anthropology. By Ralph L. Beals and Harry Hoijer. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1953. Pp. xxi, 658. \$6.00.

It is difficult to avoid becoming enthusiastic over this recent text. Intended for undergraduates, down to even the freshman or sophomore level, it succeeds in being clear, interesting, and readable without superficiality and oversimplification. Each well-organized chapter concludes with a concise yet comprehensive summary. Over a hundred and thirty line drawings, maps, and charts are provided.

Physical anthropology receives somewhat more adequate treatment than is usually the case in an introductory text. Interestingly enough, the authors accept the thesis that *homo sapiens* existed in the early Pleistocene, either contemporaneously with, or even antecedent to Neanderthal man, with very few, if any reservations. Yet they dismiss within a page or two the entire problem of the impact of culture on personality as approached by Kardiner and analytically inclined anthropologists. Cultural change is allotted only one chapter, and even that is devoted largely to critiques of the theories of several of the schools of anthropology, rather than to a direct analysis of the problem itself. However, the various aspects of the content of culture, and of material culture in particular, are admirably presented.

JERRY A. NEPRASH

Franklin and Marshall College
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The Treatment of the Young Delinquent. By J. Arthur Hoyles. New York: The Philosophical Library, 1952. Pp. xii, 274. \$4.75.

This book seems to present the usual cross section of points of view on the handling of the young delinquent and indeed does it rather

well. It attempts to survey the changes which have taken place in the last hundred years in the reaction of the community to juvenile delinquency. Moreover, the Rev. Hoyles considers these developments in the light of Christian teaching and experience.

It is common knowledge that this era of penal reform has produced the probation officer in place of the hangman, the reform school for the prison, and psychotherapy as an alternative to corporal punishment. But alleges Hoyles, "Unfortunately, the Church has never been able to put forward an agreed policy on the question of the treatment of offenders. Discussions on the subject usually resolve themselves into a somewhat naive pleading on the one hand for leniency and on the other, for severity." He feels that a certain measure of agreement on this aspect of the delinquency problem is essential if the Church is ever to make a contribution to its solution.

The Reverend J. Arthur Hoyles, in addition to his parish duties and institutional attempts at the amelioration of the conditions giving rise to the creation of youthful offenders studied at Richmond College, University of London. Of his work there, Professor Eric S. Waterhouse states: "I have always wished that my students should take seriously the whole question of crime, delinquency, and punishment. Few social questions are more important. Yet it cannot be said that the interest in this question is adequate to its importance. From the beginning of civilization man has tried to solve the problems set by wrong-doing by means of punishments upon the wrong-doers. He would indeed be an optimist who was satisfied with the results. I am thus convinced that a new way of approach to the whole issue is the only chance of finding any solution. . . . (Thus) I welcome this balanced, well-documented, and able survey of the Christian approach to delinquency."

While the hopes of Professor Waterhouse may or may not be realized in Hoyles' little

volume, it does put the problem squarely before the reader. It does give the layman the results of experiment and research and the opinions of expert criminologists. It is suggested that ministers, magistrates, probation officers, teachers, youth leaders, and social workers, will find something here to guide and to inspire them. Likewise parents may learn how to avoid some of the pitfalls which bring so many children to the juvenile court.

Although *The Treatment of the Young Delinquent* propounds no easy solution to these problems it does suggest some constructive lines of approach.

KENNETH V. LOTTICK

Willamette University
Salem, Oregon

HELPFUL CLASSROOM AIDS

ARTICLES

"How America Can Help," by Henry Hazlitt, *Newsweek*, October 19, 1953.

"How Important Are Tariffs?" by Bruno Foa, *The Reporter*, August 4, 1953.

"Report on the World Today: The Middle East," *The Atlantic Monthly*, August, 1953.

"The Middle East: Self—Determination?" by Sidney N. Fisher, *Current History*, October, 1953.

"Public Education in Pennsylvania—Past, Present and Future," by Francis B. Haas, *Pennsylvania School Journal*, Volume 102, Number 3, November, 1953.

"No Justice Is God," by Tris Coffin, *Coronet*, Volume 35, Number 1, November, 1953.

"Europe's Invisible Brick Wall," by Peter F. Drucker, *Harper's Magazine*, August, 1953.

"What Is a Communist?" by Whittaker Chambers, *Look*, July 28, 1953.

PAMPHLETS

Blue Print for Tomorrow. Institute of Life Insurance, 488 Madison Ave., New York 22, N. Y. Copies free.

Armistice In Korea. Department of State, Washington 25, D. C. Copies free.

What You Should Know About Communism. By Alfred G. Meyer, Harvard University Research Center, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass. Price \$40.

CURRENT PUBLICATIONS RECEIVED

Modern Foreign Governments. By Frederic A. Ogg and Harold Zink. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1953. Pp. xlv, 1005. \$6.25. Revised Edition.

The Struggle for Poland. By H. Peter Stern. Washington, D. C.: Public Affairs Press, 1953. Pp. vi, 79. \$2.60.

Nationalism and Social Communication. By Karl W. Deutsch. New York: John Wiley and Sons, 1953. Pp. ix, 292. \$5.00.

A pioneering study presenting a fundamental political theory of Nationalism that can be applied to research on world conditions today.

American Constitutional Custom. By Burleigh Cushing Rodick. New York: The Philosophical Library, 1953. Pp. vii, 244. \$4.75.

A History of France. By Lucien Romier. Translated by A. L. Rowse. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1953. Pp. vi, 485. \$6.50.

One of the most important contributions of this book is the clear demonstration throughout that nations never live in isolation.

The Growth of Southern Nationalism, 1844-1861. Volume Six. Baton Rouge, Louisiana: Louisiana State University Press, 1953. Pp. xlv, 433. \$6.50.

One of the volumes in the series called *A History of the South*.

Modern German History. By Ralph Flenley. New York: E. P. Dutton and Company Incorporated, 1953. Pp. xii, 406. \$6.00.

A valuable book based on a careful study of events and of the social, cultural, religious and economic factors that were reflected in the history of Germany.

Brownson on Democracy and the Trend Toward Socialism. By Lawrence Roemer. New York: Philosophical Library, 1953. Pp. ix, 173. \$3.75.

The Jacksons of Tennessee. By Marguerite Vance. New York: E. P. Dutton and Company, Incorporated, 1953. Pp. xi, 181. \$2.75.

The Gabriel Horn. By Felix Holt. New York: E. P. Dutton and Company, Incorporated, 1953. Pp. xxxiii, 192. \$2.50.

A rare, true and captivating story of the American frontier.

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